

THE
WORKS
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D: D. S. P. D.

WITH
NOTES HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL,

BY
J. HAWKESWORTH, L. L. D.
AND OTHERS.

VOL. IV.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by MRS. MUNDELL, Old Excise-Office;
by DAVID WILLISON, Craig's Close; and by
CHURNSIDE and WILSON, Royal Bank-Close;
the Publishers. 1778.

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By David W. Macmillan, Glasgow, and by

James Macmillan and W. & A. Macmillan, London.

The Edinburgh 1792.

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The



The DRAPIER's LETTERS continued.

A LETTER to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount MOLESWORTH.

Written in the year 1724.

They compassed me about also with words of deceit, and fought against me without a cause.

For my love they are my adversaries; but I give myself unto prayer. And they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love.

Psal. cix. 3, 4, 5.

Seek not to be judge, being not able to take away iniquity; lest at any time thou fear the person of the mighty, and lay a stumbling block in the way of thy uprightness.

Offend not against the multitude of a city, and then thou shalt not cast thyself down among the people.

Bind not one sin upon another; for in one thou shalt not be unpunished. Eccus. vii. 6, 7, 8.

Non jam prima peto Mnestheus, neque vincere certo:

Quanquam O! Sed superent quibus hoc, Neptune, dedisti.

DIRECTIONS to the PRINTER.

Mr. HARDING,

WHEN I sent you my former papers, I cannot say I intended you either *good* or *hurt*; and yet you have happened, through my means, to receive *both*. I pray God deliver you from any more of the *latter*, and encrease the *former*. Your trade, particularly in this kingdom, is, of all others, the most unfortunately circumstantiated; for, as you deal in the most worthless kind of trash, the penny productions of pennyless scribblers; so, you often venture

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A.

your

your liberty, and sometimes your lives, for the purchase of half a crown; and, by your own ignorance, are punished for other mens actions.

I am afraid, you, in particular, think you have reason to complain of me, for your own and your wife's confinement in prison, to your great expence, as well as hardship; and for a prosecution still impending. But I will tell you, Mr. Harding, how that matter stands. Since the press hath lain under so strict an inspection, those, who have a mind to inform the world, are become so cautious, as to keep themselves, if possible, out of the way of danger. My custom, therefore, is to dictate to a prentice, who can write in a feigned hand; and what is written, we send to your house by a blackguard boy. But, at the same time, I do assure you, upon my reputation, that I never did send you any thing for which I thought you could possibly be called to an account. And you will be my witness, that I always desired you, by a letter, to take some good advice, before you ventured to print; because I knew the *dexterity of dealers in the law*, at finding out something to fasten on, where no evil is meant. I am told indeed, that you did accordingly consult several very able persons; and even *some*, who afterwards *appeared against you*: to which I can only answer, that you must either change your *advisers*, or determine to print nothing that comes from a *drapier*.

I desire you will send the inclosed letter, directed to my lord viscount *Molesworth*, at his house at *Brackdenstown*, near Swords: but I would have

it

it sent *printed*, for the convenience of his lordship's reading; because this counterfeit hand of my prentice is not very legible. And, if you think fit to publish it, I would have you first get it read over by some *notable* lawyer: I am assured, you will find enough of them, who are friends to the *drapier*, and will do it without a fee; which, I am afraid, you can ill afford, after all your expences. For, although I have taken so much care, that I think it impossible to find a topic out of the following papers, for sending you again to prison, yet I will not venture to be your guarantee.

This ensuing letter contains only a short account of myself, and an humble apology for my former pamphlets, especially the *last*: with little mention of Mr. Wood, or his *halfpence*; because I have already said enough upon that subject, until occasion shall be given for *new fears*; and, in that case, you may perhaps hear from me again.

	I am
From my shop in	your friend
St. Francis-street,	and servant
Dec. 14. 1724.	M. B.

P. S. For want of intercourse between you and me, which I never will suffer, * your people are apt to make very gross errors in the press, which I desire you will provide against.

A 2

To

* The copies were always sent to the press by some obscure messenger, who never knew the person from whom he received them, but gave them in at a window. The amanuensis only was trusted, to whom, about two years after, the author gave an employment of 40l. a year, as a reward for his fidelity.

To the Right honourable

The Lord Viscount MOLESWORTH,

At his House at Brackdenstown, near Swords.

My LORD,

I Reflect too late, on the maxim of common observers, that those, who meddle in matters out of their calling, will have reason to repent; which is now verified in me: for, by engaging in the trade of a writer, I have drawn upon myself the displeasure of the government, signified by a *proclamation*, promising a reward of three hundred pounds to the first *faithful* subject, who shall be able and inclined to *inform* against me; to which I may add, the *laudable zeal and industry* of my lord chief-justice Whitshed, in his endeavours to discover so dangerous a person. Therefore, whether I repent or no, I have certainly cause to do so; and the common observation still stands good.

It will sometimes happen, I know not how, in the course of human affairs, that a man shall be made liable to *legal* animadversions, where he hath nothing to answer for, either to God or his *country*: and condemned at Westminster-hall, for what he will never be charged with at the *day of judgment*.

After strictly examining my own heart, and consulting some divines of great reputation, I cannot accuse myself of any * *malice* or *wickedness*.

* Articles mentioned in the indictment and proclamation.

*ness against the public; of any designs to sow sedition; of reflecting on the king and his ministers: or of endeavouring to alienate the affections of the people of this kingdom from those of England. All I can charge myself with, is, a weak attempt to serve a nation in danger of destruction, by a most wicked and malicious projector, without waiting until I were called to its assistance. Which attempt, however it may perhaps give me the title of pragmatical and overweening, will never lie a burthen upon my conscience. God knows, whether I may not, with all my caution, have already run myself into a second danger, by offering thus much in my own vindication. For I have heard of a judge, who, upon the criminal's appeal to the dreadful day of judgment, told him, he had incurred a *primunire* for appealing to a foreign jurisdiction: and of another in Wales, who severely checked the prisoner for offering the same plea; taxing him with reflecting on the court by such a comparison; because *comparisons are odious*.*

But, in order to make some excuse for being more speculative than others of my condition, I desire your lordship's pardon, while I am doing a very foolish thing; which is, to give you some little account of myself.

I was bred at a free school, where I acquired some little knowledge in the *Latin tongue*. I served my apprenticeship in London, and there set up for myself, with good success; until, by the death of some friends, and misfortunes of others, I returned into this kingdom; and began to em-

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ploy my thoughts in cultivating the *woollen manufacture* through all its branches; wherein I met with great discouragement, and powerful opposers, whose objections appear to me very strange and singular. They argued, that the people of England would be offended, if our manufactures were brought to equal theirs: and even some of the *weaving* trade were my enemies; which I could not but look upon as *absurd* and *unnatural*. I remember your lordship, at that time, did me the honour to come into my shop, where I shewed you * a piece of *black and white stuff*, just sent from the *dyer*; which you were pleased to approve of, and be my best customer for.

However, I was so mortified, that I resolved for the future, to sit quietly in my shop, and deal in *common goods*, like the rest of my brethren; until it happened, some months ago, considering with myself, that the *lower and poorer sort of people* wanted a *plain, strong, coarse stuff*, to defend them against cold easterly winds, which then blew very fierce and blasting for a long time together; I contrived one on purpose, which sold very well all over the kingdom, and preserved many thousands from *agues*. I then made a † *second* and a *third* kind of *stuffs* for the gentry, with the same success; insomuch, that an *ague* hath hardly been heard of for some time.

This

* By this is meant, the *Proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures*.

† The drapier's three first letters.

This incited me so far, that I ventured upon a * *fourth* piece, made of the best Irish wool I could get: and I thought it grave and rich enough to be worn by the best *lord* or *judge* of the land. But, of late, some *great folks* complain, as I hear, that when they had it on, they felt a *shuddering* in their *limbs*, and have thrown it off in a rage; cursing to hell the poor *drapier*, who invented it; so that I am determined never to *work* for persons of *quality* again: except for your *lordship*, and a *very few more*.

I assure your lordship, upon the word of an honest citizen, that I am not richer, by the value of one of Mr. Wood's halfpence, with the sale of all the several *stuffs* I have contrived: for, I give the whole profit to the *dyers* and *pressers* †. And therefore, I hope you will please to believe, that no other motive, besides the love of my country, could engage me to busy my head and hands, to the loss of my time, and the gain of nothing but *vexation* and *ill-will*.

I have now in hand one *piece of stuff* to be woven on purpose for your lordship; although I might be ashamed to offer it to you, after I have confessed, that it will be made only from the ‡ *shreds* and *remnants* of the *wool* employed in the former. However, I shall *work* it up as well as I can; and, at worst, you need only give it among your tenants.

I am

* The fourth letter, against which the proclamation was issued.

† Printers.

‡ Meaning the present letter.

8 THE DRAPIER'S LETTERS.

I am very sensible, how ill your lordship is like to be entertained, with the pedantry of a *drapier*, in the terms of his own trade. How will the matter be mended, when you find me entering again, although very sparingly, into an affair of state? for such is now grown the controversy with Mr. Wood, if some *great lawyers* are to be credited. And as it often happens at play, that men begin with *farthings*, and go on to *gold*, till some of them lose their estates, and die in jail: so it may possibly fall out in my case, that, by *playing* too long with Mr. Wood's halfpence, I may be drawn in to pay a *fine*, double to the reward for *betraying* me; be sent to prison, and *not be delivered thence, until I shall have paid the uttermost farthing.*

There are, my lord, three sorts of persons, with whom I am resolved never to dispute: a *highwayman*, with a pistol at my breast; a *troop of dragoons*, who come to plunder my house; and a *man of the law*, who can make a merit of accusing me. In each of these cases, *which are almost the same*, the best method is, to *keep out of the way*; and the next best is, to *deliver your money, surrender your house, and confess nothing.*

I am told, that the two points in my last letter, from which an occasion of offence hath been taken, are; where I mention his Majesty's answer to the address of the house of Lords, upon Mr. Wood's patent; and where I discourse upon Ireland's being a *dependent kingdom*. As to the former, I can only say, that I have treated it
with

with the utmost respect and caution: and I thought it necessary, to shew where Wood's patent differed, in many essential parts, from all others that ever had been granted; because the contrary had, for want of due information, been so strongly and so largely asserted. As to the other, of Ireland's *dependency*; I confess to have often heard it mentioned, but was never able to understand what it meant. This gave me the curiosity to enquire among several eminent lawyers, who professed they knew nothing of the matter. I then turned over all the statutes of both kingdoms, without the least information, further than an Irish act, that I quoted, of the 33d of Henry VIII. uniting Ireland to England under one king. I cannot say, I was *sorry* to be disappointed in my search, because it is certain, I could be *contented* to *depend* only upon God and my *prince*, and the *laws of my own country*, after the manner of other nations. But, since my *bettors* are of a *different opinion*, and desire *further dependencies*, I shall outwardly submit; yet, still insisting, in my own heart, upon the *exception* I made of M. B. *drapier*. Indeed, that hint was borrowed from an idle story I had heard in England, which, perhaps, may be common and beaten; but, because it *insinuates neither treason nor sedition*, I will just barely relate it.

Some hundred years ago, when the peers were so great, that the commons were looked upon as little better than their *dependents*, a bill was brought in, for making some new additions to the
power

power and privileges of the peerage. After it was read, one Mr. Drue, a member of the house, stood up, and said, he very much approved the bill, and would give his vote to have it pass; but, however, for some reasons, best known to himself, he desired, that a clause might be inserted, for *excepting the family of the Drues*. The oddness of the proposition taught others to reflect a little; and the bill was thrown out.

Whether I were mistaken, or *went too far* in examining the *dependency*, must be left to the impartial judgment of the world, as well as to the courts of judicature; although, indeed, not in so *effectual and decisive a manner*. But, to affirm, as I hear some do, in order to countenance a fearful and servile spirit, that this point did not *belong to my subject*, is a false and foolish objection. There were several scandalous reports industriously spread by Wood, and his accomplices, to discourage all opposition against his infamous project. They gave it out, that we were prepared for a *rebellion*; that we disputed the king's *prerogative*, and were shaking off our *dependency*. The first went so far, and obtained so much belief against the most visible demonstrations to the contrary, that a *great person* of this kingdom, now in England, sent over such an account of it to his friends, as would make any good subject both grieve and tremble. I thought it, therefore, necessary, to treat that calumny as it deserved. Then I proved, by an invincible argument, that we could have no intention to dispute his Majesty's

jeſty's *prerogative* ; becauſe the *prerogative* was not concerned in the queſtion ; the civilians and lawyers of all nations agreeing, that *copper is not money*. And, laſtly, to clear us from the imputation of ſhaking off our *dependency*, I ſhewed wherein I thought, and ſhall ever think, this *dependency* conſiſted ; and cited the ſtatute above mentioned, made in Ireland : by which it is enacted, that *whoever is king of England, ſhall be king of Ireland* : and that the two kingdoms ſhall be *for ever knit together under one king*. This, as I conceived, did wholly acquit us of intending to break our *dependency* ; becauſe it was altogether out of our power : for, ſurely, no king of England will ever conſent to the repeal of this ſtatute.

But, upon this article, I am charged with a heavier accuſation. It is ſaid, I *went too far*, when I declared, that “ if ever the *pretender* ſhould
“ come to be fixed upon the throne of England,
“ (which God forbid) I would ſo far venture to
“ tranſgreſs this ſtatute, that I would loſe the laſt
“ drop of my blood, before I would ſubmit to him,
“ as king of Ireland.”

This, I hear on all ſides, is the ſtrongeſt and weightieſt objection againſt me ; and which hath given the moſt offence ; that I ſhould be ſo bold to declare againſt a direct ſtatute ; and that any motive, how ſtrong ſoever, could make me reject a king, whom England ſhould receive. Now, if, in defending myſelf from this accuſation, I ſhould freely confeſs, that I *went too far* ; that the expreſſion was very indiſcreet, although oc-
caſioned

caſioned by my zeal for his preſent Maſteſty, and his proteſtant line in the houſe of Hanover; that I ſhall be careful never to offend again in the like kind; and that I hope this free acknowledgment, and ſorrow for my error, will be ſome atonement, and a little ſoften the hearts of my powerful adverſaries: I ſay, if I ſhould offer ſuch a defence as this, I do not doubt but ſome people would wreſt it to an ill meaning, by a ſpiteful interpretation. And, therefore, ſince I cannot think of any other answer, which that paragraph can admit, I will leave it to the mercy of every candid reader; but ſtill without recanting my own opinion.

I will now venture to tell your lordſhip a ſecret, wherein, I fear, you are too deeply concerned. You will therefore pleaſe to know, that this habit of writing and diſcourſing, wherein I unfortunately differ from *almoſt* the whole kingdom, and am apt to grate the ears of more than I could wiſh, was acquired during my apprenticeship in London, and a long reſidence there, after I had ſet up for myſelf. Upon my return and ſettlement here, I thought I had only *changed one country of freedom for another*. I had been long converſant with the writings of your lordſhip,* Mr. Locke, Mr. Molineux, Colonel Sidney, and other dangerous authors, who talk of “liberty as a “bleſſing, to which the whole race of mankind “hath an original title; whereof nothing but
“unlawful

* He publiſhed a book, in the reign of King William III. entitled, *The State of Denmark*, with a large preface. *Hawkeſ.*

“unlawful force can divest them.” I knew a great deal of the several Gothic institutions in Europe; and by what incidents and events they came to be destroyed: and I ever thought it the most uncontrolled and universally agreed maxim, that “freedom consists in a people’s being governed by laws made with their own consent;” and slavery in the contrary.” I have been likewise told, and believe it to be true, that *liberty* and *property* are words of known use and signification in this kingdom; and the very lawyers pretend to understand, and have them often in their mouths. These were the errors which have misled me; and to which alone I must impute the severe treatment I have received. But I shall in time *grow wiser*, and learn to consider my *driver*, the *road I am in*, and *with whom I am yoked*. This I will venture to say, That the boldest and most obnoxious words I ever delivered, would, in England, have only exposed me as a stupid fool, who went to prove, that *the sun shone in a clear summer’s day*: and I have witnesses ready to depose, that your Lordship hath said and writ fifty times worse; and, what is still an aggravation, with infinitely more wit and learning, and stronger arguments: so that, as politics run, I do not know a person of more exceptionable principles than yourself: and, if ever I shall be discovered, I think you will be bound, in honour, to pay my fine, and support me in prison; or else I may chance to *inform* against you, by way of *reprisal*.

In the mean time, I beg your Lordship to receive my confession ; that, if there be any such thing as a *dependency* of Ireland upon England, otherwise than as I have explained it, either by the *law* of God, of *nature*, of *reason*, of *nations*, or of the *land*, (which I shall die rather than grant) then was the *proclamation* against me the most *merciful* that ever was put out ; and, instead of accusing me as *malicious*, *wicked*, and *seditious*, it might have been directly as guilty of *high treason*.

All I desire, is, that the cause of my country against Mr. Wood, may not suffer by any inadvertency of mine. Whether Ireland depends upon England, or only upon God, the *king*, and the *law* ; I hope no man will assert, that it *depends* upon Mr. Wood. I should be heartily sorry, that this *commendable* spirit against me, should accidentally (and what, *I hope*, was never intended) strike a damp upon that spirit in all ranks and corporations of men, against the desperate and ruinous design of Mr. Wood. Let my countrymen blot out those parts in my last letter, which they dislike ; and let no *rust* remain on my *sword*, to cure the wounds I have given to our most mortal enemy. When Sir Charles Sidley was taking the oaths, where several things were to be *renounced*, he said, he loved *renouncing* ; asked, if any more were to be *renounced* ; for he was ready to *renounce* as much as they pleased. Although I am not so thorough a *renouncer*, yet, let me have but *good city security* against this pestilent

lent coinage, and I shall be ready, not only to *renounce* every syllable in all my four letters, but to deliver them cheerfully, with my own *hands*, into *those* of the common *hangman*, to be burnt with no better company than the *coiner's effigies*, if any part of it hath escaped out of the *secular hands* of my faithful friends, the common people.

But, whatever the sentiments of *some people* may be, I think it is agreed, that many of those, who *subscribed* against me, are on the side of a vast majority in the kingdom, who opposed Mr. Wood: * and it was with great satisfaction, that I observed some *right honourable names* very *amicably* joined with my own at the bottom of a *strong declaration* against him and his coin. But, if the admission of it among us be *already determined*, the *worthy* person who is to *betray* me, ought, in prudence, to do it with all convenient speed; or else it may be difficult to find three hundred pounds *Sterling* for the discharge of his *hire*, when the public shall have lost five hundred thousand, if there be so much in the nation; besides four-fifths of its annual income for ever.

B 2 I am

* As the Drapier's letters were written expressly against Wood's halfpence, it might well be imagined, that a proclamation against the author, would produce an opinion, that, to oppose Wood's halfpence, was illegal, and subjected the party to pains and penalties: to prevent so fatal a mistake, it is here remarked, that many of those, who subscribed the proclamation, were yet strenuous opposers of Wood's project. This distinction is yet more explicit in the letter to Lord Middleton, which was written soon after the fourth letter, and intended to be the fifth, though, for some reasons, deferred.—See the letter to Lord Middleton, and the note prefixed. *Hawkes.*

16 THE DRAPIER'S LETTERS.

I am told by lawyers, that in quarrels between man and man, it is of much weight, which of them gave the first provocation, or struck the first blow. It is manifest, that Mr. Wood hath done both: and therefore, I should humbly propose to have him first *hanged*, and his *drofs* thrown into the sea: after which, the *drapier* will be ready to stand his trial. *It must needs be that offences come, but not unto him by whom the offence cometh.* If Mr. Wood had held his *hand*, every body else would have held their *tongues*: and then there would have been little need of *pamphlets*, *juries*, or *proclamations* upon this occasion. The provocation must needs have been very great, which could stir up an obscure, indolent *drapier* to become an *author*. One would almost think, the very *stones* in the street would *rise* up in such a cause: and I am not sure they will not *do so* against Mr. Wood, if ever he comes within their reach. It is a known story of the dumb boy, whose tongue forced a passage for speech, by the horror of seeing a dagger at his father's throat. This may lessen the wonder, that a tradesman, hid in privacy and silence, should *cry out*, when the life and being of his political *mother* are attempted before his face, and by so infamous a wretch.

But, in the meantime, Mr. Wood, the *destroyer* of a kingdom, walks about in triumph, (unless it be true, that he is in jail for debt); while he, who endeavoured to *assert the liberty of his country*, is forced to *hide his head* for occasionally dealing in a matter of *controversy*. However, I am not the first,

first, who hath been condemned to death for *gaining a great victory* over a powerful enemy, by disobeying for *once* the strict orders of military discipline.

I am now resolved to follow (after the usual proceeding of mankind, because it is too late) the advice given me by a certain *dean*. * He shewed the mistake I was in, of trusting to the general good will of the people; that I had succeeded hitherto better than could be expected; but that some unfortunate *circumstantial lapse* would probably bring me within the reach of *power*; that my good intentions would be no security against *those, who watched every motion of my pen in the bitterness of my soul*. He produced an instance of a person, as innocent, as disinterested, and as well meaning as myself; who had written † a very seasonable and inoffensive treatise, exhorting the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures; for which, however, the printer was prosecuted with the utmost virulence; the *jury sent back nine times*; and the man given up to the mercy of the court. The *dean* further observed, that I was in a manner left alone to stand the *battle*; while others, who had ten thousand times better talents than a *drapier*, were so prudent as to lie still; and perhaps thought it no unpleasant amusement to look on with safety, while another was giving them *diver-*
B 3
sion,

* The author is supposed to mean himself.

† The author means himself again; in the discourse advising the people of Ireland to wear their own manufactures.

son, at the hazard of his liberty and fortune; and thought they made a sufficient recompence, by a little applause: whereupon he concluded with a short story of a Jew at Madrid; who being condemned to the fire on account of his religion, a crowd of school-boys following him to the stake, and apprehending they might lose their *sport* if he should happen to recant, would often *clap him on the back*, and cry, *Sta firme Moyse* (*Moses continue stedfast.*)

I allow this gentleman's advice to have been very good, and his observations just; and, in one respect, my condition is worse than that of the Jew: for *no recantation will save me*. However, it should seem by *some late proceedings*, that my state is not altogether deplorable. This I can impute to nothing but the steadiness of *two impartial grand-juries*; which hath confirmed in me an opinion I have long entertained, That, as philosophers say, *virtue is seated in the middle*; so, in another sense, the little *virtue* left in the world, is chiefly to be found among the *middle* rank of mankind, who are neither *allured* out of her paths by *ambition*, nor *driven* by *poverty*.

Since the *proclamation* occasioned by my last letter, and a *due* preparation for proceeding against me in a court of justice, there have been two printed papers clandestinely spread about; whereof no man is able to trace the original, further than by *conjecture*; which, with its usual charity, lays them to my account. The former is entitled, *seasonable advice*, and appears to have been

been intended for information of the grand-jury, upon the supposition of a bill to be prepared against that letter. The other is an extract from a printed book of parliamentary proceedings, in the year 1680; containing an angry resolution of the house of commons in England against *dissolving grand-juries*. As to the former, your lordship will find it to be the work of a more artful hand, than that of a common *drapier*. It hath been censured for endeavouring to influence the minds of a jury, which ought to be wholly free and unbiassed; and, for that reason, *it is manifest*, that no *judge* was ever known, either *upon* or *off* the bench, either by *himself* or his *dependents*, to use the *least insinuation*, that might possibly affect the passions or interests of any one single *juryman*, much less of a whole *jury*; whereof every man *must* be *convinced*, who will just give himself the trouble to dip into the common printed trials: so that it is amazing to think, what a number of *upright judges* there have been in both kingdoms for above *sixty years past*; which, considering how long they held their offices *during pleasure*, as they *still do among us*, * I account next to a *miracle*.

As to the other paper, I must confess it is a sharp censure from an English house of commons, against *dissolving grand-juries* by any judge before the end of the term, assizes, or sessions, while matters

* Perhaps this may account for Whitshed's conduct. See the notes prefixed to the *proposal for the sole use of Irish manufactures*, and superadded to the *seasonable advice to the grand-jury*, both in vol. III.

matters are under their consideration and not presented, as arbitrary, illegal, destructive to public justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and as a means to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom.

However, the publisher seems to have been mistaken in what he aimed at. For, whatever *dependence* there may be of Ireland upon England, I hope he would not insinuate, that the proceedings of a *lord chief justice* in Ireland, must depend upon a *resolution* of an English house of commons. Besides, that *resolution*, although it were levelled against a particular lord chief justice, Sir William Scroggs, yet the occasion was directly contrary. For Scroggs *dissolved the grand-jury* of London, for fear they *should* present; but ours in Dublin was *dissolved*, because they would not present; which *wonderfully alters the case*. And therefore, a *second grand-jury* supplied that defect, by making a presentment * that *pleased the whole kingdom*. However, I think it is agreed by all parties, that both the one and the other *jury* behaved themselves in such a manner, as ought to be remembered to their honour, while there shall be any regard left among us for *virtue or public spirit*.

I am confident, your lordship will be of my sentiments in one thing; that some short, plain, authentic tract, might be published for the information both of *petty* and *grand-juries*, how far their power reacheth, and where it is limited;
and

* See the *presentment* at the end of vol. III.

and that a printed copy of such a treatise might be deposited in every court, to be consulted by the jurymen, before they consider of their verdict; by which, abundance of inconveniences would be avoided, whereof innumerable instances might be produced from former times; because I will say nothing of the present.

I have read somewhere of an *eastern* king, who put a *judge* to death for an iniquitous sentence; and ordered his *hide to be stuffed into a cushion*, and placed upon the tribunal for the son to sit on, who was preferred to his father's office. I fancy, such a *memorial* might not have been unuseful to a son of Sir William Scroggs, and that both he and his successors would often *wriggle* in their seats, as long as the *cushion* lasted: I wish the relator had told us what number of such *cushions* there might be in that country.

I cannot but observe to your lordship, how nice and dangerous a point it is grown, for a private person to inform the people, even in an affair, where the public interest and safety are so highly concerned, as that of Mr. Wood; and this in a country, where *loyalty is woven into the very hearts of the people*, seems a little extraordinary. Sir William Scroggs was the first, who introduced that *commendable acuteness into the courts of judicature*; but, how far this practice hath been imitated by his successors, or *strained upon occasion*, is out of my knowledge. When pamphlets, *unpleasing to the ministry*, were presented as libels, he would order the offensive paragraphs to be read before him;

him; and said, it was strange, that the judges and lawyers of the *king's bench* should be duller than all the people of England: and he was often so very happy, in applying the initial letters of names, and expounding *dubious hints*, (the two common expedients among writers of that class for escaping the law) that he discovered much *more* than ever the authors intended; as many of them, or their printers, found to their cost. If such methods are to be followed, in examining what I have already written, or may write hereafter, upon the subject of Mr. Wood, I defy any man of fifty times my understanding and caution, to avoid being *entrapped*; unless he will be content to write what none will read, by repeating over the old arguments and computations, whereof the world is already grown weary. So that my good friend Harding lies under this *dilemma*; either to let my *learned works* hang for ever drying upon his lines; or venture to publish them, at the hazard of being laid by the heels.

I need not tell your Lordship where the difficulty lies: it is true, that the king and the laws *permit* us to refuse this coin of Mr. Wood; but, at the same time, it is equally true, that the king and the laws *permit* us to receive it. Now, it is *barely possible*, that the ministers in England may not suppose the consequence of uttering that brass among us, to be so ruinous as we apprehend; because, perhaps, if they understood it in that light, they would, in common humanity, use their credit with his Majesty, for saving a *most loyal kingdom*

dom from destruction. But, as long as it shall please those great persons to think, that coin will not be *so* very pernicious to us, we ly under the disadvantage of being censured as obstinate, in not complying with a royal patent. Therefore, nothing remains, but to make use of that *liberty*, which the king and the *laws* have left us, by continuing to refuse this coin; and, by frequent remembrances, to keep up that spirit raised against it, which otherwise may be apt to flag, and, perhaps, in time, to sink altogether. For, any public order, against receiving or uttering Mr. Wood's halfpence, is not reasonably to be expected in this kingdom, without directions from England; which, I think, no body presumes, or is so sanguine to hope.

But, to confess the truth, my lord, I begin to grow weary of my office as a writer; and could heartily wish it were devolved upon my *brethren*, the makers of *songs* and *ballads*, who, perhaps, are the best qualified at present, to gather up the gleanings of this controversy. As to myself, it hath been my misfortune to begin, and pursue it, upon a wrong foundation. For, having detected the frauds and falshoods of this vile impostor Wood, in every part, I foolishly *disdained* to have recourse to *wining*, *lamenting*, and *crying for mercy*; but rather chose to *appeal* to *law* and *liberty*, and the *common rights of mankind*, without considering the *climate* I was in.

Since your last residence in Ireland, I frequently have taken my nag to ride about your grounds;
where

where I fancied myself to feel an air of *freedom* breathing round me; and I am glad the low condition of a tradesman, did not qualify me to wait on you at your house; for then, I am afraid, my writings would not have escaped *severer censures*. But I have lately sold my nag, and honestly told his greatest fault, which was that of snuffing up the air about Brackdenstown; whereby he became such a lover of *liberty*, that I could scarce hold him in. I have likewise buried, at the bottom of a strong chest, your lordship's writings, under a heap of others, that treat of *liberty*: and spread over a *layer* or two of Hobbs, Filmer, Bodin, and many more authors of that stamp, to be readiest at hand, whenever I shall be disposed to take up a *new set* of principles in government. In the mean time, I design quietly to look to my shop, and keep as far out of your lordship's influence as possible: and, if you ever see any more of my writings on this subject, I promise you shall find them as innocent, as insipid, and without a sting, as what I have now offered you. But, if your lordship will please to give me an easy lease of some part of your estate in Yorkshire, thither will I carry my chest; and, turning it upside down, resume my political reading where I left off; feed on plain homely fare, and live and die a free honest English farmer: but not without regret, for leaving my countrymen under the dread of the brazen talons of Mr. Wood: my most loyal and innocent countrymen; to whom I owe so much
for

for their good opinion of me, and my poor endeavours to serve them. I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

your Lordship's

most obedient

From my shop in

St. Francis-street,

and most humble servant,

Dec. 14. 1724.

M. B.

These papers (for the sixth and seventh letters were not published till long afterwards) prevailed, notwithstanding threats, prosecutions, and imprisonment, against all the influence of power; and all the artifices of cunning: persons of every rank, and every sect, united with the drapier in the common cause; his health was a perpetual toast, and his effigies were displayed in every street: Wood was compelled to withdraw his patent, and his half-pence were totally suppressed.

A LETTER to the Lord Chancellor MIDDLETON*.

Written in the year 1724.

[By many passages in the following letter, and by the date, Oct. 6. 1724, it appears to have been written soon after the proclamation against the *drapier*, for his fourth letter, and before the jury had thrown out the bill of indictment. At this crisis, perhaps, the dean did not choose to resume a character which was become obnoxious, and therefore wrote in his own: the original was signed with his name, though it appeared to have been obliterated by another hand: for some reason, the publication of it was delayed, and it was first printed in an edition of the dean's works published at Dublin, in 1735. This, however, is not the only reason why it is placed after the fifth letter; for the fifth letter appears to have been substituted in its stead, and not intended to follow it. The fourth letter, both in this and in the fifth, is called the *last*, which could not have happened, if both had been parts of the same series.

The reader will now easily account for those passages in the sixth, by which the prosecution against Harding appears to be depending, though, in the fifth, it is mentioned as past.]

My LORD,

I Desire you will consider me as a member, who comes in at the latter end of a debate; or as a lawyer, who speaks to a cause, when the matter hath been almost exhausted, by those who spoke before.

I remember, some months ago, I was at your house upon a commission, where I am one of the governors; but I went thither, not so much on account of the commission, as to ask you some questions

* He signed the proclamation against the Drapier. *Hawkes.*

questions concerning Mr. Wood's patent to coin half-pence for Ireland; where you very freely told me, in a mixed company, how much you had been always against that wicked project*; which raised in me an esteem for you so far, that I went, in a few days, to make you a visit, after many years intermission. I am likewise told, that your son wrote two letters from London (one of which I have seen) empowering those, to whom they were directed, to assure his friends, that whereas there was a malicious report spread, of his engaging himself to Mr. Walpole, for 40,000 l. of Wood's coin to be received in Ireland, the said report was false and groundless: and he had never discoursed with that minister on this subject, nor would ever give his consent to have one farthing of the said coin current here. And, although it be long since I have given myself the trouble of conversing with people of titles or stations; yet I have been told by those, who can take up with such amusements, that there is not a considerable person of the kingdom, scrupulous in any sort to declare his opinion. But all this is needless to alledge, when we consider, that the ruinous consequences of Wood's patent have been so strongly represented by both houses of parliament, by the privy-council, the lord mayor and aldermen of Dublin, by so many corporations, and the concurrence of the principal gentlemen in most counties, at their

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quarter-

* Lord Middleton, though he signed the proclamation against the *drapier*, was yet an enemy to Wood's project, as appears by several passages in this letter. *Hawkes.*

quarter-fessions, without any regard to party, religion, or nation.

I conclude, from hence, that the currency of these halfpence would, in the universal opinion of our people, be utterly destructive to this kingdom; and, consequently, that it is every man's duty, not only to refuse this coin himself, but, as far as in him lies, to persuade others to do the like: and, whether this be done in private or in print, is all a case; as no layman is forbidden to write, or to discourse upon religious or moral subjects, although he may not do it in a pulpit (at least in our church.) Neither is this an affair of state, until authority shall think fit to declare it so: or if you should understand it in that sense, yet you will please to consider, that I am not now preaching.

Therefore, I do think it my duty, since the *drapier* will probably be no more heard of, so far to supply his place, as not to incur his fortune: for I have learnt, from old experience, that there are times, wherein a man ought to be cautious, as well as innocent. I therefore hope, that, preserving both these characters, I may be allowed, by offering new arguments, or enforcing old ones, to refresh the memory of my fellow-subjects, and keep up that good spirit raised among them, to preserve themselves from utter ruin, by lawful means, and such as are permitted by his majesty.

I believe, you will please to allow me two propositions: first, that we are a most loyal people; and, secondly, that we are a free people, in the
common

common acceptation of that word, applied to a subject under a limited monarch. I know very well, that you and I did, many years ago, in discourse, differ much, in the presence of lord Wharton, about the meaning of that word *liberty*, with relation to Ireland. But, if you will not allow us to be a free people, there is only another appellation left, which, I doubt, my lord chief justice Whitshed would call me to account for, if I venture to bestow: for I observed (and I shall never forget upon what occasion) the device upon his coach to be *libertas et natale solum*, at the very point of time when he was sitting in his court, and perjuring himself to betray both*.

Now, as for our loyalty to his present Majesty; if it hath ever been equalled in any other part of his dominions, I am sure it hath never been exceeded: and I am confident, he hath not a minister in England, who could ever call it once in question. But, that some hard rumours, at least, have been transmitted, from t'other side the water, I suppose you will not doubt: and rumours of the severest kind; which many good people have imputed to the indirect proceeding of Mr. Wood and his emissaries: as if he endeavoured it should be thought, that our loyalty depended upon the test of refusing or taking his copper. Now, as I am sure you will admit us to be loyal people; so, you will think it pardonable in us, to hope for all proper marks of favour and protection from so gracious a king, that loyal and free people can

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expect:

* See the address to both houses of parliament, by M. B. drapier.

expect: among which, we all agree in reckoning this to be one; that Wood's halfpence may never have entrance into this kingdom. And this we shall continue to *wish*, when we dare no longer express our wishes; although there were no such mortal as a *drapier* in the world.

I am heartily sorry, that any writer should, in a cause so generally approved, give occasion to the government and council, to charge him with * "paragraphs, highly reflecting upon his majesty and his ministers; tending to alienate the affections of his good subjects in England and Ireland from each other; and to promote sedition among the people." I must confess, that, with many others, I thought he meant well; although he might have the failing of better writers, to be not always fortunate in the manner of expressing himself.

However, since the *drapier* is but one man, I shall think I do a public service, by asserting, that the rest of my countrymen are wholly free from learning, out of *his* pamphlets, to reflect on the king or his ministers, and to breed sedition.

I solemnly declare, that I never once heard the least reflection cast upon the king, on the subject of Mr. Wood's coin: for, in many discourses on this matter, I do not remember his majesty's name to be so much as mentioned. As to the ministry in England, the only two persons hinted at, were, the Duke of Grafton and Mr. Walpole: the former, as I have heard you, and a hundred others affirm,

* In the *drapier's* 4th letter.

affirm, declared, that he never saw the patent in favour of Mr. Wood, before it was passed, although he was then lord lieutenant: and, therefore, I suppose every body believes, that his grace hath been wholly unconcerned in it ever since.

Mr. Walpole was indeed supposed to be understood by the letter W. in several news-papers; where it is said, that some expressions fell from him, not very favourable to the people of Ireland; for the truth of which, the kingdom is not to answer, any more than for the discretion of the publishers. You observe, the *drapier* wholly clears Mr. Walpole of this charge, by very strong arguments; and speaks of him with civility. I cannot deny myself to have been often present, where the company gave their opinion, that Mr. Walpole favoured Mr. Wood's projects, which I always contradicted; and, for my own part, never once opened my lips against that minister, either in mixed or particular meetings: and my reason for this reservedness was, because it pleased him, in the *queen's* time, (I mean queen Anne, of ever blessed memory) to make a speech directly against me, by name, in the house of commons, as I was told, a very few minutes after, in the court of *requests*, by more than fifty members.

But you, who are in a great station here, (if any thing here may be called great) cannot be ignorant, that whoever is understood by public voice to be chief minister, will, among the general talkers, share the blame, whether justly or no, of every thing that is disliked; which I could easily

sily make appear, in many instances, from my own knowledge, while I was in the world; and particularly in the case of the * greatest, the wisest, and the most uncorrupt minister I ever conversed with.

But, whatever unpleasing opinion some people might conceive of Mr. Walpole, on account of those halfpence, I dare boldly affirm, it was entirely owing to Mr. Wood. Many persons of credit, come from England, have affirmed to me, and others, that they have seen letters under his hand, full of arrogance and insolence towards Ireland, and boasting of his favour with Mr. Walpole; which is highly probable; because he reasonably thought it for his interest, to spread such a report, and because it is the known talent of low and little spirits, to have a great man's name perpetually in their mouths.

Thus, I have sufficiently justified the people of Ireland, from learning any bad lesson out of the *drapier's* pamphlets, with regard to his majesty and his ministers: and, therefore, if those papers were intended to sow sedition among us, God be thanked, the seeds have fallen upon a very improper soil.

As to alienating the affections of the people of England and Ireland from each other; I believe the *drapier*, whatever his intentions were, hath left that matter just as he found it.

I have lived long in both kingdoms, as well in country as in town; and therefore take myself to be

* Supposed to be the Lord Treasurer Oxford.

be as well informed as most men, in the dispositions of each people towards the other. By the people, I understand here, only the bulk of the common people; and I desire no lawyer may distort or extend my meaning.

There is a vein of industry and parsimony, that runs through the whole people of England, which, added to the easiness of their rents, makes them rich and sturdy. As to Ireland, they know little more of it than they do of Mexico; farther than that it is a country subject to the king of England, full of bogs, inhabited by wild Irish *papists*, who are kept in awe by mercenary troops sent from thence: and their general opinion is, that it were better for England, if this whole island were sunk into the sea: for they have a tradition, that every forty years there must be a rebellion in Ireland. I have seen the grossest suppositions pass upon them; that the *wild* Irish were taken in toils; but that, in some time, they would grow so tame, as to eat out of our hands. I have been asked by hundreds, and particularly by my neighbours, your tenants at Pepper-hara, whether I had come from Ireland by sea? and, upon the arrival of an Irish *man* to a country town, I have known crouds coming about him, and wondering to see him look so much better than themselves.

A gentleman now in Dublin, affirms, that, passing, some months ago, through Northampton, and finding the whole town in a hurry, with bells, bonfires, and illuminations; upon asking the cause, he was told, it was for joy that the Irish had submitted

mitted to receive Wood's halfpence. This, I think, plainly shews what sentiments that large town hath of us; and how little they made it their own case: although they ly directly in our way to London, and therefore, cannot but be frequently convinced, that we have human shapes.

As to the people of this kingdom, they consist either of Irish *papists*, who are as inconsiderable in point of power, as the women and children; or of English *protestants*, who love their brethren of that kingdom, although they may possibly sometimes complain when they think they are hardly used: however, I confess, I do not see that it is of any great consequence, how their personal affections stand to each other, while the sea divides them, and while they continue in their loyalty to the same prince. And yet I will appeal to you, whether those from England have reason to complain, when they come hither in pursuit of their fortunes? or, whether the people of Ireland have reason to boast, when they go to England upon the same design?

My second proposition was, that we of Ireland are a free people: this, I suppose, you will allow, at least with certain limitations remaining in your own breast. However, I am sure it is not criminal to affirm; because the words *liberty* and *property*, as applied to the subject, are often mentioned in both houses of parliament, as well as in yours and other courts below; from whence it must follow, that the people of Ireland do, or *ought* to enjoy all the benefits of the common and statute law;

law ; such as, to be tried by juries, to pay no money without their own consent as represented in parliament, and the like. If this be so, and if it be universally agreed, that a free people cannot by law be compelled to take any money in payment, except gold and silver ; I do not see why any man should be hindered from cautioning his countrymen against this coin of William Wood ; who is endeavouring, by fraud, to rob us of that property, which the laws have secured. If I am mistaken, and this copper can be obtruded on us, I would put the *drapier's* case in another light, by supposing, that a person going into his shop should agree for thirty shillings worth of goods, and force the seller to take his payment in a parcel of copper-pieces, intrinsically not worth above a crown : I desire to know, whether the *drapier* would not be actually robbed of five and twenty shillings ; and how far he could be said to be master of his property ? The same question may be applied to rents and debts on bond or mortgage, and to all kind of commerce whatsoever.

Give me leave to do, what the *drapier* hath done more than once before me ; which is, to relate the naked fact, as it stands in view of the world.

One William Wood, Esq; and hardware-man, obtains by fraud a patent in England to coin 108,000 l. in copper, to pass in Ireland, leaving us at liberty to take or to refuse. The people here, in all sorts of bodies and representatives, do openly and heartily declare, that they will not accept this coin : to justify these declarations, they generally

rally offer two reasons; first, because by the words of the patent they are at left to their own choice; and secondly, because they are not obliged by law: so that you see there is *bellum atque virum*; a kingdom on one side, and William Wood on the other. And if Mr. Wood gets the victory at the expence of Ireland's ruin, and the profit of one or two hundred thousand pounds (I mean by continuing, and counterfeiting as long as he lives) for himself; I doubt, both present and future ages will at least think it a very singular scheme.

If this fact be truly stated, I must confess, I look upon it as my duty, so far as God hath enabled me, and as long as I keep within the bounds of truth, of duty, and of decency, to warn my fellow-subjects, as they value their king, their country, and all that ought or can be dear to them, never to admit this pernicious coin; no, not so much as one single half-penny: for if one single thief forces the door, it is in vain to talk of keeping out the whole crew behind.

And while I shall be thus employed, I will never give myself leave to suppose that what I say, can either offend my † lord lieutenant, whose person and great qualities I have always highly respected (as I am sure his excellency will be my witness) or the ministers in England, with whom I have nothing to do, or they with me; much less the privy-council here; who, as I am informed, did send an address to his majesty against Mr. Wood's coin; which, if it be a mistake, I desire
I may

† Lord Carteret, now Earl Granville.

I may not be accused for a spreader of false news ; but I confess, I am so great a stranger to affairs, that, for any thing I know, the whole body of the council may since have been changed : and although I observed some of the very same names in a late declaration against that coin, which I saw subscribed to the proclamation against the *drapier*, yet possibly they may be different persons ; for they are utterly unknown to me, and are like to continue so.

In this controversy, where the reasoners on each side are divided by St. George's channel, his majesty's prerogative perhaps would not have been mentioned, if Mr. Wood and his advocates had not made it necessary, by giving out, that the currency of his coin should be enforced by a proclamation. The traders and common people of the kingdom were heartily willing to refuse this coin ; but the fear of a proclamation, brought along with it most dreadful apprehensions. It was therefore absolutely necessary for the *drapier* to remove this difficulty ; and accordingly, in one of his former pamphlets, he produced invincible arguments, (wherever he picked them up) that the king's prerogative was not at all concerned in the matter ; since the law had sufficiently provided against any coin to be imposed on the subject, except gold and silver ; and that copper is not money, but, as it hath been properly called, *nummorum famulus*.

The three former letters from the *drapier*, having not received any public censure, I look upon

them to be without exception ; and that the good people of the kingdom ought to read them often, in order to keep up that spirit raised against this destructive coin of Mr. Wood. As for this last letter, against which a proclamation is issued ; I shall only say, that I could wish it were stripped of all that can be any way exceptionable ; which I would not think it below me to undertake, if my abilities were equal : but being naturally somewhat slow of comprehension, no lawyer, and apt to believe the best of those who profess good designs, without any visible motive either of profit or honour ; I might pore for ever, without distinguishing the cockle from the corn.

That which I am told gives the greatest offence in this last letter †, is, where the *drapier* affirms, that if a rebellion should prove so successful, as to fix the *pretender* on the throne of England, he would venture so far to transgress the Irish statute, which unites Ireland to England under one king, as to lose every drop of his blood to hinder him from being king of Ireland.

I shall not presume to vindicate any man, who openly declares he would transgress a statute ; and a statute of such importance : but, with the most humble submission and desire of pardon for a very innocent mistake, I should be apt to think, that the loyal intention of the writer might be at least some small extenuation of his crime : for, in this, I confess myself to think with the *drapier*.

I have not been hitherto told of any other objections

† Letter 4. See the note prefixed to this letter.

jections against that pamphlet ; but I suppose, they will all appear at the prosecution of the *drapier*. And I think, whoever, in his own conscience, believes the said pamphlet to be wicked and malicious, seditious and scandalous, highly reflecting upon his majesty and his ministers, &c. would do well to discover the author, (as little a friend as I am to the trade of informers) although the reward of 300 l. had not been tacked to the discovery. I own, it would be a great satisfaction to me to hear the arguments, not only of judges, but of lawyers, upon this case. Because you cannot but know, there often happen occasions, wherein it would be very convenient, that the bulk of the people should be informed how they ought to conduct themselves ; and therefore, it hath been the wisdom of the English parliaments to be very reserved in limiting the press. When a bill is debating in either house of parliament there, nothing is more usual, than to have the controversy handled by pamphlets on both sides, without the least animadversion upon the authors.

So here, in the case of Mr. Wood and his coin ; since the two houses gave their opinion by addresses, how dangerous the currency of that copper would be to Ireland, it was without all question both lawful and convenient, that the bulk of the people should be let more particularly into the nature of the danger they were in, and of the remedies that were in their own power, if they would have the sense to apply them ; and this cannot be more conveniently done, than by particu-

lar persons, to whom God hath given zeal and understanding sufficient for such an undertaking. Thus it happened in the case of that destructive project for a bank in Ireland, which was brought into parliament a few years ago; and it was allowed, that the arguments and writings of some without doors, contributed very much to reject it.

Now, I should be heartily glad, if some able lawyers would prescribe the limits, how far a private man may venture in delivering his thoughts upon public matters; because a true lover of his country may think it hard to be a quiet stander-by, and an indolent looker-on, while a public error prevails by which a whole nation may be ruined. Every man who enjoys property, hath some share in the public; and therefore the care of the public is in some degree every such man's concern.

To come to particulars; I could wish to know, whether it be utterly unlawful in any writer, so much as to mention the prerogative; at least, so far as to bring it into doubt upon any point whatsoever. I know it is often debated in Westminster-hall; and Sir Edward Coke, as well as other eminent lawyers, do frequently handle that subject in their books?

Secondly, How far the prerogative extends, to force coin upon the subject, which is not sterling; such as lead, brass, copper, mixed metal, shells, leather, or any other material; and fix upon it whatever denomination the crown shall think fit?

Thirdly, What is really and truly meant by that phrase

phraſe of a depending kingdom, as applied to Ireland, and wherein that dependency conſiſteth?

Laſtly, In what points relating to liberty and property the people of Ireland differ, or at leaſt ought to differ, from thoſe of England?

If theſe particulars were made ſo clear, that none could miſtake them, it would be of infinite eaſe and uſe to the kingdom; and either prevent or ſilence all diſcontents.

My lord Sommers, the greateſt man I ever knew of your robe, and whoſe thoughts of Ireland differed, as far as heaven and earth, from thoſe of ſome others among his brethren here, lamented to me, that the prerogative of the crown, or the privileges of parliament, ſhould ever be liable to diſpute in any ſingle branch of either; by which means, he ſaid, the public often ſuffered great inconveniencies, whereof he gave me ſeveral inſtances. I produce the authority of ſo eminent a perſon, to juſtify my deſires, that ſome high points might be cleared.

For want of ſuch known aſcertainment, how far a writer may proceed in expreſſing his good wiſhes for his country, a perſon of the moſt innocent intentions may poſſibly, by the oratory and comments of lawyers, be charged with many crimes, which from his very ſoul he abhors; and conſequently may be ruined in his fortunes, and left to rot among thieves in ſome ſtinking jail, merely for miſtaking the purlieus of the law. I have known in my lifetime, a printer proſecuted

and convicted for publishing a * pamphlet, where the author's intentions, I am confident, were as good and innocent as those of a martyr at his last prayers. I did very lately, as I thought it my duty, preach to the people under my inspection, upon the subject of Mr. Wood's coin; and although I never heard that my sermon gave the least offence, as I am sure none was intended, yet, if it were now printed and published, I cannot say, I would ensure it from the hands of the common hangman, or my own person from those of a messenger.

I have heard the late chief-justice Holt affirm, that, in all criminal cases, the most favourable interpretation should be put upon words, that they can possibly bear. You meet the same position asserted in many trials for the greatest crimes; though often very ill practised, by the perpetual corruption of judges. And I remember, at a trial in Kent, where Sir George Rook was indicted for calling a gentleman knave and villain, the lawyer for the defendant brought off his client, by alleging, that the words were not injurious; for knave, in the old and true signification, imported only a servant; and villain, in Latin, is *villicus*, which is no more than a man employed in country labour, or rather a bail.

If Sir John Holt's opinion were a standard maxim for all times and circumstances, any writer, with a very small measure of discretion, might easily be
safe;

* Supposed to be, A proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures, written by the author.

safe; but I doubt, in practice, it hath been frequently controlled, at least before his time: for I take it to be an old rule in law.

I have read, or heard, a passage of Signor Leti, an Italian; who, being in London, busying himself with writing the history of England, told King Charles II. that he endeavoured, as much as he could, to avoid giving offence; but found it a thing impossible, although he should have been as wise as Solomon. The king answered, that if this were the case, he had better employ his time in writing proverbs, as Solomon did: but Leti lay under no public necessity of writing, neither would England have been one halfpenny the better or the worse, whether he writ or no.

This I mention, because I know it will readily be objected, What have private men to do with the public? what call had a *drapier* to turn politician, to meddle in matters of state? would not his time have been better employed in looking to his shop; or his pen in writing proverbs, elegies, ballads, garlands, and wonders? he would then have been out of all danger of proclamations and prosecutions. Have we not able magistrates and counsellors, hourly watching over the public weal? All this may be true: and yet, when the addresses from both houses of parliament, against Mr. Wood's half-pence, failed of success, if some pen had not been employed, to inform the people how far they might legally proceed in refusing that coin; to detect the fraud, the artifice, and insolence of the coiner; and to lay open the most ruinous consequences

consequences to the whole kingdom, which would inevitably follow from the currency of the said coin; I might appeal to many hundred thousand people, whether any one of them would ever have had the courage or sagacity to refuse it.

If this copper should begin to make its way among the common ignorant people, we are inevitably undone. It is they who give us the greatest apprehension, being easily frightened, and greedy to swallow misinformations: for, if every man were wise enough to understand his own interest, which is every man's principal study, there would be no need of pamphlets upon this occasion: but, as things stand, I have thought it absolutely necessary, from my duty to God, my king, and my country, to inform the people, that the proclamation lately issued against the *drapier*, doth not in the least affect the case of Mr. Wood and his coin, but only refers to certain paragraphs in the *drapier's* last pamphlet *, (not immediately relating to his subject, nor at all to the merits of the cause) which the government was pleased to dislike; so that any man has the same liberty to reject, to write, and to declare against this coin, which he had before: neither is any man obliged to believe, that those honourable persons (whereof you are the first) who signed that memorable proclamation against the *drapier*, have at all changed their opinions with regard to Mr. Wood, or his coin.

Therefore, concluding myself to be thus far upon a safe and sure foot, I shall continue, upon any
proper

* The 4th letter.

proper occasion, as God enables me, to revive and preserve that spirit raised in the nation (whether the real author were a real *drapier* or no, is little to the purpose) against this horrid design of Mr. Wood; at the same time, carefully watching every stroke of my pen, and venturing only to incur the public censure of the world as a writer, not of my lord chief-justice Whitshed as a criminal. Whenever an order shall come out by authority, forbidding all men, upon the highest penalties, to offer any thing in writing, or discourse, against Mr. Wood's halfpence, I shall certainly submit. However, if that should happen, I am determined to be somewhat more than the last man in the kingdom to receive them; because I will never receive them at all: for, although I know how to be silent, I have not yet learned to pay active obedience against my conscience, and the public safety.

I desire to put a case, which I think the *drapier*, in some of his books, hath put before me; although not so fully as it requires.

You know, the copper halfpence in England are coined by the public; and every piece worth pretty near the value of the copper. Now, suppose that, instead of the public coinage, a patent had been granted to some private, obscure person, for coining a proportionable quantity of copper in that kingdom, to what Mr. Wood is preparing in this; and all of it, at least, five times below the intrinsic value: the current money of England is reckoned to be twenty millions; and ours under

500,000

500,000 pounds *: by this computation, as Mr. Wood hath power to give us 108,000 pounds; so the patentee in England, by the same proportion, might circulate 4,320,000 pounds, besides as much more by stealth and counterfeits. I desire to know from you, whether the parliament might not have addressed upon such an occasion; what success they probably would have had; and how many *drapiers* would have risen, to pester the world with pamphlets: yet that kingdom would not be so great a sufferer as ours, in the like case; because their cash would not be conveyed into foreign countries, but lie hid in the chests of cautious, thrifty men, until better times. Then I desire, for the satisfaction of the public, that you will please to inform me, why this country is treated in so very different a manner, in a point of such high importance; whether it be on account of Poining's act; of subordination; dependence; or any other term of art, which I shall not contest, but am too dull to understand.

I am very sensible, that the good or ill success of Mr. Wood will affect you less than any person of consequence in the kingdom; because I hear you are so prudent as to make all your purchases in England; and truly so would I, if I had money, although I were to pay a hundred years purchase; because I should be glad to possess a freehold, that could not be taken from me by any law, to which I did not give my own consent; and where I should never be in danger of receiving
my

* It is since sunk to 200,000 l.

my rents in mixt copper, at the loss of sixteen shillings in the pound. You can live in ease and plenty at Pepper-hara in Surry; and therefore I thought it extremely generous and public-spirited in you, to be of the kingdom's side in this dispute, by shewing, without reserve, your disapprobation of Mr. Wood's design; at least, if you have been so frank to others, as you are to me; which indeed I could not but wonder at, considering how much we differ in other points; and, therefore, I could get but few believers, when I attempted to justify you in this article from your own words.

I would humbly offer another thought, which I do not remember to have fallen under the *drapier's* observation. If these halfpence should once gain admittance, it is agreed, that, in no long space of time, what by the clandestine practices of the coiner, what by his own counterfeits, and those of others, either from abroad or at home, his limited quantity would be tripled upon us, until there would not be a grain of gold or silver visible in the nation. This, in my opinion, would lay a heavy charge upon the crown, by creating a necessity of transmitting money from England, to pay the salaries at least of the principal civil officers: for I do not conceive how a judge (for instance) could support his dignity with a thousand pounds a-year in Wood's coin; which would not intrinsically be worth near two hundred. To argue that these halfpence, if no other coin were current, would answer the general ends of commerce among ourselves, is a great mistake; and the

the *drapier* hath made that matter too clear to admit an answer, by shewing us, what every owner of land must be forced to do with the products of it in such a distress. You may read his remarks at large, in his second or third letter; to which I refer you.

Before I conclude, I cannot but observe, that, for several months past, there have more papers been written in this town, such as they are, all upon the best public principle, the love of our country, than perhaps hath been known in any other nation in so short a time: I speak in general, from the *drapier* down to the maker of ballads; and all without any regard to the common motives of writers; which are, profit, favour, and reputation. As to profit, I am assured, by persons of credit, that the best ballad upon Mr. Wood, will not yield above a groat to the author; and the unfortunate adventurer Harding * declares, he never made the *drapier* any present, except one pair of scissars. As to favour, whoever thinks to make his court, by opposing Mr. Wood, is not very deep in politics. And as to reputation, certainly no man of worth and learning would employ his pen upon so transitory a subject, and in so obscure a corner of the world, to distinguish himself as an author. So that I look upon myself, the *drapier*, and my numerous brethren, to be all true patriots in our several degrees.

All that the public can expect for the future, is, only to be sometimes warned to beware of Mr. Wood's

* The printer of the *drapier's* letters.

Wood's halfpence; and to be referred for conviction to the *drapier's* reasons. For, a man of the most superior understanding will find it impossible to make the best use of it, while he writes in constraint; perpetually softening, correcting, or blotting out expressions, for fear of bringing his printer, or himself, under a prosecution from my lord chief-justice Whithed. It calls to my remembrance the madman in Don Quixote, who, being soundly beaten by a weaver, for letting a stone (which he always carried on his shoulder) fall upon a spaniel, apprehended, that every cur he met was of the same species.

For these reasons, I am convinced, that what I have now written, will appear low and insipid; but, if it contributes in the least to preserve that union among us, for opposing this fatal project of Mr. Wood, my pains will not be altogether lost.

I sent these papers to an eminent lawyer (and yet a man of virtue and learning into the bargain) who, after many alterations, returned them back, with assuring me, that they are perfectly innocent; without the least mixture of treason, rebellion, sedition, malice, disaffection, reflection, or wicked insinuation whatsoever.

If the bell-man of each parish, as he goes his circuit, would cry out every night, Past twelve o'clock; Beware of Wood's halfpence; it would probably cut off the occasion for publishing any more pamphlets, provided that, in country towns, it were done upon market-days. For my own

50 To LORD MIDDLETON.

part, as soon as it shall be determined, that it is not against law, I will begin the experiment in the liberty of St. Patrick's; and hope my example may be followed in the whole city. But if authority shall think fit to forbid all writings, or discourses upon this subject, except such as are in favour of Mr. Wood, I will obey as it becomes me; only, when I am in danger of bursting, I will go and whisper among the reeds, not any reflection upon the wisdom of my countrymen; but only these few words, *BEWARE OF WOOD'S HALF-PENCE.*

I am,

with due respect,

your most obedient,

*Deanry-house,
Oct. 26. 1724.*

humble servant,

J. S.

AN

AN HUMBLE ADDRESS
to both Houses of PARLIAMENT. *

By M. B. Drapier.

*Multa gemens ignominiam plagasque superbi
Victoris.*——

I Have been told, that petitions and addressees, to either king or parliament, are the right of every subject; provided they consist with that respect, which is due to princes and great assemblies. Neither do I remember, that the modest proposals or opinions of private men have been ill received, when they have not been delivered in the style of advice; which is a presumption far from my thoughts. However, if proposals should be looked upon as too assuming; yet, I hope, every man may be suffered to declare his own and the nation's wishes. For instance; I may be allowed to wish, that some further laws were enacted for the advancement of trade; for the improvement of agriculture, now strangely neglected, against the

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maxims

* This address is without a date; but it appears to have been written during the first session of parliament in lord Carteret's government, though it did not appear till it was inserted with the preceding letter in the Dublin edition of 1735.

Among other inaccuracies in the Irish edition, two dates are assigned to the following tract: in the advertisement prefixed, it is said to have been written the first session of Carteret's government; and in the title-page, to be written before his arrival. *Hawkes.*

maxims of all wise nations ; for supplying the manifest defects in the acts concerning the plantation of trees ; for setting the poor to work ; and many others.

Upon this principle I may venture to affirm, it is the hearty wish of the whole nation, very few excepted, that the parliament in this session would begin by strictly examining into the detestable fraud of one William Wood, now or late of London, hard-ware man ; who illegally and clandestinely, as appears by our own votes and addresses, procured a patent in England for coining half-pence in that kingdom, to be current here. This, I say, is the wish of the whole nation, very few excepted ; and, upon account of those few, is more strongly and justly the wish of the rest : those few consisting either of Wood's confederates, some obscure tradesmen, or certain bold UNDERTAKERS, of weak judgement and strong ambition, who think to find their account in the ruin of the nation, by securing or advancing themselves. And, because such men proceed upon a system of politics, to which I would fain hope you will be always utter strangers, I shall humbly lay it before you.

Be pleased to suppose me in a station of fifteen hundred pounds a year, salary and perquisites ; and likewise possessed of 800 l. a year real estate. Then suppose a destructive project to be on foot ; such, for instance, as this of Wood ; which, if it succeed, in all the consequences naturally to be expected from it, must sink the rents and wealth
of

of the kingdom one half, (although I am confident, it would have done so five-sixths.) Suppose, I conceive that the countenancing, or privately supporting this project, will please those by whom I expect to be preserved, or higher exalted; nothing then remains, but to compute and balance my gain and my loss, and sum up the whole. I suppose that I shall keep my employment ten years, not to mention the fair chance of a better. This, at 1500 l. a year, amounts in ten years to 15,000 l. My estate, by the success of the said project, sinks 400 l. a year; which, at twenty years purchase, is but 8000 l.; so that I am a clear gainer of 7000 l. upon the balance. And during all that period, I am possessed of power and credit, can gratify my favourites, and take vengeance on my enemies. And, if the project miscarry, my private merit is still entire. This arithmetic, as horrible as it appears, I knowingly affirm to have been practised, and applied in conjunctures, whereon depended the ruin or safety of a nation: although probably the charity and virtue of a senate will hardly be induced to believe, that there can be such monsters among mankind. And yet the wise lord Bacon mentions a sort of people, (I doubt the race is not yet extinct) who would set a house on fire for the convenience of roasting their own eggs at the flame.

But whoever is old enough to remember, and hath turned his thoughts to observe the course of public affairs in this kingdom from the time of the revolution, must acknowledge, that the highest

points of interest and liberty have been often sacrificed to the avarice and ambition of particular persons, upon the very principles and arithmetic that I have supposed: the only wonder is, how these artists were able to prevail upon numbers, and influence even public assemblies to become instruments for effecting their execrable designs.

It is, I think, in all conscience, latitude enough for vice, if a man in station be allowed to act injustice upon the usual principles of getting a bribe, wreaking his malice, serving his party, or consulting his preferment, while his wickedness terminates in the ruin only of particular persons. But, to deliver up our whole country, and every living soul who inhabits it, to certain destruction, hath not, as I remember, been permitted by the most favourable casuists on the side of corruption. It were far better, that all, who have had the misfortune to be born in this kingdom, should be rendered incapable of holding any employment whatsoever above the degree of a constable, (according to the scheme and intention of a great minister † gone to his own place) than to live under the daily apprehensions of a few false brethren among ourselves. Because, in the former case, we should be wholly free from the danger of being betrayed; since none could then have impudence enough to pretend any public good.

It is true, that in this desperate affair of the new halfpence, I have not heard of any man above my own degree of a shop-keeper to have been hitherto

† The late Earl of Sunderland.

therto so bold, as in direct terms to vindicate the fatal project, although I have been told of some very mollifying expressions which were used, and very gentle expedients proposed and handed about, when it first came under debate: but since the eyes of the people have been so far opened, that the most ignorant can plainly see their own ruin in the success of Wood's attempt, these grand compounders have been more cautious.

But that the same spirit still subsists, hath manifestly appeared (among other instances of great compliance) from certain circumstances, that have attended some late proceedings * in a court of judicature. There is not any common-place more frequently insisted on by those who treat of our constitution, than the great happiness and excellency of trials by juries: yet if this blessed part of our law be eludable at pleasure, by the force of power, frowns and artifice, we shall have little reason to boast of our advantage in this particular, over other states or kingdoms in Europe. And surely these high proceedings, exercised in a point that so nearly concerned the life-blood of the people, their necessary subsistence, their very food and raiment, and even the public peace, will not allow any favourable appearance; because it was obvious, that so much superabundant zeal could have no other design, or produce any other effect, than to damp that spirit raised in the nation

* By Chief-Justice Whitshed, whose method with a jury may be seen in the note which follows the proposal for the use of Irish manufactures, and that at the end of seasonable advice to a grand-jury. *Hawkes.*

nation against this accursed scheme of William Wood and his abettors ; to which spirit alone we owe, and for ever must owe, our being hitherto preserved, and our hopes of being preserved for the future, if it can be kept up, and strongly countenanced by your wise assemblies. I wish I could account for such a demeanor upon a more charitable foundation, than that of putting our interest in over-balance with the ruin of our country.

I remember, some months ago, when this affair was fresh in discourse, a person nearly allied to **SOMEBODY**, or (as the hawkers called him) **NOBODY**, who was thought deeply concerned, went about very diligently among his acquaintance, to shew the bad consequences that might follow from any public resentment to the disadvantage of his ally, Mr. Wood ; principally alleging the danger of all employments being disposed of from England. One of these emissaries came to me, and urged the same topic. I answered naturally, that I knew there was no office of any kind, which a man from England might not have, if he thought it worth his asking ; and that I looked upon all who had the disadvantage of being born here, as only in the condition of leasers and gleaners. Neither could I forbear mentioning the known fable of the country man, who intreated his ass to fly for fear of being taken by the enemy ; but the ass refused to give himself that trouble, and upon a very wise reason ; because he could not possibly change his present master for a worse : the enemy could not make him fare harder,

harder, beat him more cruelly, or load him with heavier burdens.

Upon these, and many more considerations, I may affirm it to be the wish of the whole nation, that the power and privileges of juries were declared, ascertained, and confirmed by the legislature; and that whoever hath been manifestly known to violate them, might be stigmatized by public censure; not from any hope that such a censure will amend their practices, or hurt their interest, (for it may probably operate quite contrary in both) but that the nation may know their enemies from their friends.

I say not this with any regard or view to myself; for I write in great security; and am resolved that none shall merit at my expence, further than by shewing their zeal to discover, prosecute and condemn me, for endeavouring to do my duty in serving my country: and yet I am conscious to myself, that I never had the least intention to reflect on his majesty's ministers, nor on any other person, except William Wood, whom I neither did, nor do yet conceive to be of that number. However, some would have it, that I went too far; but I suppose they will now allow themselves mistaken. I am sure I might easily have gone further; and I think I could not easily have fared worse. And therefore I was no further affected with their proclamation, and subsequent proceedings, than a good clergyman is with the sins of the people. And as to the poor printer,
he

he is now gone to appear before a higher, and before a righteous tribunal.

As my intention is only to lay before your great assemblies, the general wishes of the nation; and as I have already declared it our principal wish, that your first proceeding would be, to examine into the pernicious fraud of William Wood; so I must add, as the universal opinion, that all schemes of commutation, composition, and the like expedients, either avowed or implied, will be of the most pernicious consequences to the public; against the dignity of a free kingdom; and prove an encouragement to future adventurers in the same destructive projects. For it is a maxim, which no man at present disputes, that even a connivance to admit one thousand pounds in these halfpence, will produce in time the same ruinous effects, as if we openly consent to admit a million. It were therefore infinitely more safe and eligible, to leave things in the doubtful, melancholy state they are at present, (which, however, God forbid) and trust entirely to the general aversion of our people against this coin, using all honest endeavours to preserve, continue and increase that aversion, than submit to apply those palliatives, which weak, perfidious, or abject politicians are upon all occasions, and in all diseases, so ready to administer.

In the small compass of my reading (which however hath been more extensive than is usual to men of my inferior calling) I have observed, that grievances have always preceded supplies; and

and if ever grievances had a title to such a pre-eminence, it must be this of Wood; because it is not only the greatest grievance that any country could suffer, but a grievance of such a kind, that, if it should take effect, would make it impossible for us to give any supplies at all, except adulterate copper; unless a tax were laid for paying the civil and military lists, and the large pensions, with real commodities instead of money; which, however, might be liable to some few objections, as well as difficulties: for although the common soldiers might be content with beef and mutton, and wool, and malt and leather; yet I am in some doubt as to the generals, the colonels, the numerous pensioners, the civil officers and others, who all live in England upon Irish pay, as well as those few who reside among us, only because they cannot help it.

There is one particular, which, although I have mentioned more than once in some of my former papers, yet I cannot forbear to repeat, and a little enlarge upon it; because I do not remember to have read or heard of the like, in the history of any age or country; neither do I ever reflect upon it, without the utmost astonishment.

After the unanimous addresses to his sacred majesty, against this patent of Wood, from both houses of parliament, which are the three estates of the kingdom; and likewise an address from the privy council, to whom, under the chief governors, the whole administration is entrusted; the matter is referred to a committee of council
in

60 THE DRAPIER'S LETTERS.

in London. Wood, and his adherents, are heard on one side; and a few volunteers, without any trust or direction from hence, on the other. The question (as I remember) chiefly turned upon the want of halfpence in Ireland. Witnesses are called on the behalf of Wood, of what credit, I have formerly shewn.* Upon the issue, the patent is found good and legal: all his majesty's officers here, not excepting the military, commanded to be aiding and assisting to make it effectual; the addresses of both houses of parliament, of the privy council, and of the city of Dublin, the declarations of most counties and corporations through the kingdom, are altogether laid aside, as of no weight, consequence, or consideration whatsoever; and the whole kingdom of Ireland nonsuited, in default of appearance; as if it were a private cause between John Dow, plaintiff, and William Row, defendant.

With great respect to those honourable persons, the committee of council in London, I have not understood them to be our governors, counsellors or judges. Neither did our case turn at all upon the question, Whether Ireland wanted halfpence? For, there is no doubt, but we do want both halfpence, gold, and silver; and we have numberless other wants, and some that we are not so much as allowed to name, although they are peculiar to this nation, to which no other is subject, whom God hath blessed with religion and laws, or any degree of soil and sun-shine:
but

* In Letter III.

but, for what demerits on our side, I am altogether in the dark.

But I do not remember that our want of halfpence was either affirmed, or denied in any of our addrestes or declarations against those of Wood. We alledged the fraudulent obtaining and executing his patent, the baseness of his metal, and the prodigious sum to be coined, which might be increased by stealth, from foreign importation, and his own counterfeits, as well as those at home; whereby we must infallibly lose all our little gold and silver, and all our poor remainder of a very limited and discouraged trade. We urged, that the patent was passed without the least reference hither; and without mention of any security given by Wood to receive his own halfpence upon demand; both which are contrary to all former proceedings in the like cases. These, and many other arguments we offered; but still the patent went on; and at this day, our ruin would have been half completed, if God in his mercy had not raised an universal detestation of these halfpence in the whole kingdom, with a firm resolution never to receive them, since we are not under obligations to do so by any law either human or divine.

But, in the name of God and of all justice and piety, when the king's majesty was pleased that this patent should pass, is it not to be understood, that he conceived, believed and intended it as a gracious act, for the good and benefit of his subjects, for the advantage of a great and fruitful

kingdom ; of the most loyal kingdom upon earth, where no hand or voice was ever lifted up against him ; a kingdom, where the passage is not of three hours from Britain, and a kingdom where papists have less power, and less land than in England ? Can it be denied, or doubted, that his majesty's ministers understood and proposed the same end, the good of this nation, when they advised the passing this patent ? Can the person of Wood be otherwise regarded, than as the instrument, the mechanic, the head-workman, to prepare his furnace, his fuel, his metal, and his stamps ? If I employ a shoe-boy, is it in view to his advantage, or to my own convenience ? I mention the person of William Wood alone ; because no other appears, and we are not to reason upon surmises ; neither would it avail, if they had a real foundation.

Allowing therefore, for we cannot do less, that this patent for the coining of half-pence was wholly intended by a gracious king, and a wise public-spirited ministry, for the advantage of Ireland ; yet, when the whole kingdom to a man, for whose good the patent was designed, do, upon maturest consideration, universally join in openly declaring, protesting, addressing, petitioning against these half-pence, as the most ruinous project that ever was set on foot to complete the slavery and destruction of a poor innocent country ; is it, was it, can it, or will it ever be a question, not whether such a kingdom, or William Wood, should be a gainer ; but whether such a kingdom should

should be wholly undone, destroyed, sunk, depopulated, made a scene of misery and desolation, for the sake of William Wood? God of his infinite mercy avert this dreadful judgment; and it is our universal wish, that God would put it into your hearts to be his instruments for so good a work.

For my own part, who am but one man, of obscure condition, I do solemnly declare in the presence of almighty God, that I will suffer the most ignominious and torturing death, rather than submit to receive this accursed coin, or any other that shall be liable to the same objections, until they shall be forced upon me by a law of my own country; and if that shall ever happen, I will transport myself into some foreign land, and eat the bread of poverty among a free people.

Am I legally punishable for these expressions? shall another proclamation issue against me, because I presume to take my country's part against William Wood, where her final destruction is intended? But whenever you shall please to impose silence upon me, I will submit; because I look upon your unanimous voice to be the voice of the nation; and this I have been taught, and do believe, to be in some manner the voice of God.

The great ignominy of a whole kingdom lying so long at mercy under so vile an adversary, is such a deplorable aggravation, that the utmost expressions of shame and rage are too low to set it forth: and therefore I shall leave it to receive such a resentment, as is worthy of a parliament.

It is likewise our universal wish, that his majesty should grant liberty to coin half-pence in this kingdom for our own use, under such restriction as a parliament here shall advise; since the power of coining even gold and silver is possessed by every petty prince abroad; and was always practised by Scotland to the very time of the union; yet surely Scotland, as to soil, climate, and extent, is not in itself a fourth part the value of Ireland; (for bishop Burnet says, it is not above the fortieth part in value to the rest of Britain) and with respect to the profit that England gains from hence, not the forty thousandth part. Although I must confess, that a mote in the eye, or a thorn in the side, is more dangerous and painful than a beam or a spike at a distance.

The histories of England, and of most other countries, abound in relating the miserable, and sometimes the most tragical effects from the abuses of coin, by debasing the metal, by lessening or enhancing the value upon occasions, to the public loss; of which we have an example within our own memory in England, and another very lately in France. It is the tenderest point of government, affecting every individual in the highest degree. When the value of money is arbitrary or unsettled, no man can well be said to have any property at all; nor is any wound so suddenly felt, so hardly cured, or that leaves such deep and lasting scars behind it.

I conceive this poor unhappy island to have a title to some indulgence from England; not only
upon

upon the score of christianity, natural equity, and the general rights of mankind, but chiefly on account of that immense profit they receive from us; without which that kingdom would make a very different figure in Europe, from what it doth at present.

The rents of land in Ireland, since they have been of late so enormously raised and screwed up, may be computed to about two millions; whereof one third part at least is directly transmitted to those, who are perpetual absentees in England, as I find by a computation made with the assistance of several skilful gentlemen.

The other articles, by which we are altogether losers, and England a gainer, we found to amount to almost as much more.

I will only set down as many heads of them as I can remember, and leave them to the consideration of those who understand accounts better than I pretend to do.

The occasional absentees, for business, health, or diversion.

Three-fourths of the revenue of the chief governor, during his absence; which is usually four-fifths of his government.

The whole revenue of the post-office.

The numerous pensions paid to persons in England.

The pay of the chief officers of the army absent in England, which is a great sum.

Four commissioners of the revenue, always absent.

Civil employments very numerous, and of great income.

The vast charge of appeals to the house of lords, and to the court of delegates.

Students at the inns of court, and the two universities.

Eighty thousand pounds sent yearly to England for coals; whereof the prime cost is nothing, and therefore the profit wholly theirs.

One hundred thousand pounds paid several years past for corn sent over hither from England; the effect of our own great wisdom in discouraging agriculture.

The kind liberty granted us of wearing Indian stuffs, and callicoes, to gratify the vanity and folly of our women; which, besides the profit to England, * is an inconceivable loss to us, forcing the weavers to beg in our streets, or transport themselves to foreign countries.

The prodigious loss to us, and gain to England, by selling them all our wool at their own rates; whereof the manufacture exceeds above ten times the prime cost: a proceeding without example in the christian or heathen world.

Our own wool returned upon us in English manufactures, to our infinite shame and damage, and the great advantage of England.

The full profit of all our mines accruing to
England;

* From whence these commodities were exported to Ireland, the East-India company only having a right to import them from the country in which they are manufactured. *Hawkes.*

England; an effect of great negligence and stupidity.

An affectation among us of liking all kinds of goods made in England. *

These and many other articles, which I cannot recollect at present, are agreed by judicious men to amount to near seven hundred thousand pounds *per ann.* clear profit to England. And upon the whole, let any man look into those authors who write upon the subject of commerce, he shall find, that there is not one single article in the essentials or circumstances of trade, whereby a country can be a loser, which we do not possess in the highest perfection; somewhat in every particular, that bears a kind of analogy to William Wood; and now the branches are all cut off, he stands ready with his axe at the root.

Upon this subject of perpetual absentees, I have spent some time in very insignificant reflections; and, considering the usual motives of human actions, which are pleasure, profit, and ambition, I cannot yet comprehend, how those persons find their account in any of the three. I speak not of those English peers or gentlemen, who, beside their estates at home, have possessions here; for, in that case, the matter is desperate; but I mean those lords, and wealthy knights, or squires, whose birth, and partly their education, and all their fortune, except some trifle, and that
in

* Many of the above articles have been since particularly computed by another writer, to whose treatise the reader is referred. *Hawkes.*

in a very few instances, are in this kingdom. I knew many of them well enough, during several years, when I resided in England; and truly, I could not discover, that the figure they made, was, by any means, a subject for envy, at least it gave me two very different passions. For, excepting the advantage of going now and then to an opera, or sometimes appearing behind a crowd at court, or adding to the ring of coaches in Hyde-Park, or losing their money at the chocolate-house, or getting news, votes, and minutes about five days before us in Dublin; I say, besides these, and a few other privileges of less importance, their temptations to live in London were beyond my knowledge or conception. And I used to wonder how a man of birth and spirit could endure to be wholly insignificant and obscure in a foreign country, when he might live with lustre in his own; and even at less than half that expence, which he strains himself to make, without obtaining any one end, except that which happened to the frog, when he would needs contend for size with the ox. I have been told by scholars, that Cæsar said, he would rather be the first man in I know not what village, than the second in Rome. This, perhaps, was a thought only fit for Cæsar: but, to be preceded by thousands, and neglected by millions; to be wholly without power, figure, influence, honour, credit, or distinction, is not, in my poor opinion, a very amiable situation of life to a person of title or wealth, who can so cheaply and easily shine in his native country.

But,

But, besides the depopulating of the kingdom, the leaving so many parts of it wild and uncultivated, the ruin of so many country-seats and plantations; the cutting down all the woods, to supply expences in England; the absence of so many noble and wealthy persons, hath been the cause of another fatal consequence, which few, perhaps, have been aware of. For, if that very considerable number of lords, who possess the amplest fortunes here, had been content to live at home, and attend the affairs of their own country in parliament; the weight, reputation, and dignity thereby added to that noble house, would, in all human probability, have prevented certain proceedings, which are now ever to be lamented, because they never can be remedied: and we might have then decided our own properties among ourselves, without being forced to travel five hundred miles by sea and land to another kingdom for justice, to our infinite expence, vexation, and trouble; which is a mark of servitude without example from the practice of any age or nation in the world.

I have sometimes wondered, upon what motives the peerage of England were so desirous to determine our controversies; because I have been assured, and partly know, that the frequent appeals from hence have been very irksome to that illustrious body: and whoever hath frequented the painted chamber, and courts of requests, must have observed, that they are never so nobly

bly filled, as when an Irish appeal is under debate.

The peers of Scotland, who are very numerous, were content to reside in their castles and houses in that *bleak and barren climate*; and although some of them made frequent journies to London, yet I do not remember any of their greatest families, till very lately, to have made England their constant habitation before the *union*; or, if they did, I am sure it was generally *to their own advantage*; and, whatever they got, was employed to cultivate and increase their own estates; and, by that means, enrich themselves and their country.

As to the great number of rich *absentees* under the degree of *peers*; what particular ill effects their absence may have upon this kingdom, besides those already mentioned, may, perhaps, be too tender a point for me to touch. But, whether those who live in another kingdom, upon great estates here, and have lost all regard to their own country, further than upon account of the *revenues they receive from it*: I say, whether such persons may not be prevailed on to recommend others to *vacant seats*, who have no interest here, except a precarious employment, and consequently, can have no views, but to preserve what they have got, or to be higher advanced; this, I am sure, is a very melancholy question, *if it be a question at all*.

But, besides the prodigious profit which England receives, by the transmittal thither of two-thirds

thirds of the revenues of this whole kingdom, it hath another advantage, by making our country a *receptacle*, wherein to *disburden* themselves of their *supernumerary* pretenders to office; persons of second-rate merit in their own country, who, *like birds of passage*, most of them thrive and fatten here, and fly off when their *credit* and *employments* are at an end. So that Ireland may justly say what Luther said of himself; *POOR* Ireland *maketh many rich*.

If, amidst all our difficulties, I should venture to assert, that we have one great advantage, provided we could improve it as we ought, I believe most of my readers would be long in conjecturing, what *possible* advantage could ever fall to our share. However, it is certain, that all the *regular seeds* of *party* and *faction* among us, are entirely rooted out; and if any new ones shall spring up, they must be of *equivocal* generation, without any seed at all; and will justly be imputed to a degree of stupidity beyond even what we have been ever charged with, upon the score of our *birth-place* and *climate*.

The *parties* in this kingdom (including those of modern date) are, first, of those who have been charged or suspected to *favour the pretender*, and those who were *zealous opposers of him*. Secondly, Of those who were *for* and *against a toleration of dissenters by law*. Thirdly, Of *high* and *low-church*; or (to speak in the *cant* of the times) of *whig* and *tory*. And, fourthly, Of *court* and *country*. If there be any more, they are

are beyond my observation or politics: for, as to *subaltern* or *occasional parties*, they have all been *derivations* from the same originals.

Now, it is manifest, that all these incitements to *faction*, *party*, and *division*, are wholly removed from among us. For, as to the *pretender*, his cause is both *desperate* and *obsolete*: there are very few now alive, who were *men* in his father's time, and in that prince's interest; and in all others, the obligation of conscience hath no place*: even the *papists*, in general, of any substance or estates, and their *priests*, almost universally, are what we call *whigs*, in the sense which by that word is generally understood. They feel the *smart*, and see the *scars* of their former *wounds*; and very well know, that they must be made a *sacrifice* to the least attempts towards a *change*; although it cannot be doubted, that they would be glad to have their *superstition* restored under any prince whatsoever.

Secondly, 'The *dissenters* are now *tolerated* by *law*: neither do we observe any *murmurs* at present from that quarter, except those *reasonable* complaints they make of *persecution*, because they are excluded from civil employments; but their number being very small in either *house* of parliament, they are not yet in a situation to erect a *party*: because, however indifferent men may be with regard to *religion*, they are now grown wise enough to know, that if such a *latitude* were allowed

* The obligation arising from their having sworn allegiance.
Hawkes.

lowed to *dissenters*, the few small employments left us in cities and corporations would find *other hands* to lay hold on them.

Thirdly, The dispute between *high* and *low-church*, is now at an end; two-thirds of the *bishops* having been promoted in *this* reign, and most of them from England, who have bestowed *all* preferments in their gift to those they could well *confide in*: the *deanries* all, except three, and many principal church-livings, are in the donation of the crown: so that we already possess *such a body of clergy*, as will never engage in controversy upon that *antiquated* and *exploded* subject.

Lastly, As to *court* and *country parties*, so famous and avowed under most reigns in English parliaments; this kingdom hath not, for several years past, been a proper scene, whereon to exercise such contentions; and is now less proper than ever; many great employments for life being in *distant* hands, and the *reversions* *diligently watched and secured*: the temporary ones of any *inviting* value, are all bestowed *elsewhere*, as fast as they drop; and the few remaining are of too low consideration to create contests about them, except among younger brothers, or tradesmen like myself. And therefore, to institute a *court* and *country party*, without *materials*, would be a very new system in politics, and what, I believe, was never thought on before; nor, unless in a *nation of idiots*, can ever succeed; for the most ignorant Irish cottager will not *sell his cow for a groat*.

Therefore, I conclude, that all *party and faction*, with regard to public proceedings, are now extinguished in this kingdom :* neither doth it appear in view, how they can possibly *revive* ; unless some new causes be administered ; which cannot be done, *without crossing the interests of those who are the greatest gainers by continuing the same measures*. And general calamities, *without hope of redress*, are allowed to be the great *unifiers* of mankind.

However we may dislike the *causes*, yet this *effect* of begetting an universal concord among us, in all *national debates*, as well as in *cities, corporations, and country neighbourhoods*, may keep us at least alive, and in a condition to eat the little bread allowed us in *peace and amity*. I have heard of a quarrel in a tavern, where all were at daggers-drawing, till one of the company cried out, desiring to know the *subject of the quarrel* ; which, when none of them could tell, they put up their swords, sat down, and passed the rest of the evening in *quiet*. The *former part* hath been our case ; I hope the *latter* will be so too, that we shall *sit down* amicably together, at least until we have *something* that may give us a title to fall out, since nature hath instructed even a brood of *goslings* to *stick together*, while the *kite* is hovering over their heads.

It is certain, that a firm *union* in any country, where every man wishes the same thing, with relation

* Since this discourse was written, it hath appeared, by experience, that the author was much mistaken in his conjectures.

lation to the public, may, in several points of the greatest importance, in some measure, supply the *defect of power*, and even of *those rights, which are the natural and undoubted inheritance of mankind*. If the universal *wish* of the nation, upon any point, were declared by the *unanimous* vote of the house of commons, and a reasonable number of lords, I should think myself obliged, in conscience, to act in my sphere according to that vote; because, in all free nations, I take the proper definition of *law* to be, the *will of the majority of those who have the property in land*; which, if there be a monarchy, is to be confirmed by the royal assent. And although such *votes* or *declarations* have not received such a confirmation, for certain *accidental reasons*; yet, I think they ought to be of much weight with the *subject*, provided they neither oppose the king's prerogative, endanger the peace of the nation, nor infringe any law already in force; none of which, however, can reasonably be supposed. Thus, for instance, if nine in ten of the house of commons, and a reasonable number of native temporal peers, should declare, that, whoever received or uttered *brass coin*, except under certain limitations and securities, should be deemed as *enemies to the king and the nation*; I should think it a heinous sin in myself, to act contrary to such a vote: and if the same power should declare the same *censure* against those who wore Indian stuffs and *calicoes*, or *woollen manufactures imported from abroad*, whereby this nation is reduced to the lowest ebb

of misery, I should *readily, heartily, and chearfully* pay obedience; and, to my utmost power, persuade others to do the like; because there is no *law* of this land, obliging us either to *receive such coin*, or to *wear such foreign manufactures*.

* Upon this last article I could humbly wish, that the reverend the *clergy* would set us an example, by contenting themselves with wearing gowns and other habiliments of Irish drapery; which, as it would be some incitement to the *laity*, and set many hands to work, so they would find their advantage in the *cheapness*, which is a circumstance not to be neglected by *too many* among that venerable body. † And in order to this, I could heartily desire, that the most ingenious artists of the weaving trade would contrive some decent stuffs and silks for *clergymen* at reasonable rates.

I have pressed several of our most substantial brethren, that the whole corporation of *weavers* in silk and woollen, would publish some *proposals* (I wish they would do it to both houses of parliament) inviting persons of all degrees and of both sexes, to wear the woollen and silk manufactures of our own country; entering into solemn, mutual engagements, that the buyer shall have good, substantial, merchantable ware for his money, and at a certain rate, without the trouble of
cheapening.

* This hath since been put in practice by the persuasions and influence of the supposed author; but much defeated by the most infamous fraud of shopkeepers. *Hawkes*.

† This scheme was likewise often urged to the weavers by the supposed author; but he could never prevail on them to put it in practice. *Hawkes*.

cheapening. So that if I sent a child for a piece of stuff of a particular colour and fineness, I should be sure not to be deceived; or if I had reason to complain, the corporation should give me immediate satisfaction; and the name of the tradesman, who did me the wrong, should be published; and warning given not to deal with him for the future; unless the matter plainly appeared to be a mistake: for, besides the trouble of going from shop to shop, an ignorant customer runs the hazard of being cheated in the price and goodness of what he buys, being forced to an unequal combat with a dexterous and dishonest man in his own calling. Thus our goods fall under a general disreputation; and the gentry call for English cloth, or silk, from an opinion they have (and often too justly by our own faults) that the *goodness* more than makes up for the difference of price.

Besides, it hath been the sottish and ruinous practice of us tradesmen, upon any great demand of goods either at home or from abroad, to raise the prices immediately, and manufacture the said goods more slightly and fraudulently than before.

Of these foul and foolish proceedings, too many instances might be produced; and I cannot forbear mentioning one whereby this poor kingdom hath received such a fatal blow in the *only article of trade* allowed us of any importance, that nothing but the success of Wood's project could outdo it. During the late plague in France, the Spaniards, who buy their linen cloths in that kingdom, not daring to venture thither for fear of infection,

a very great demand was made here for that commodity, and exported to Spain : but, whether by the ignorance of the merchants, or dishonesty of the *northern* weavers, or the collusion of both, the ware was so bad, and the price so excessive, that, except some small quantity which was sold below the prime cost, the greatest part was returned : and I have been told by very intelligent persons, that if we had been fair dealers, the whole current of the linen trade to Spain, would have taken its course from hence.

If any punishment were to be inflicted on *numbers of men*, surely there could none be thought too great for such a race of *traitors* and *enemies* to God and their country ; who, for the prospect of a little *present* gain, do not only ruin themselves (for that alone would be an *example* to the rest, and a *blessing* to the nation) but sell their souls to hell, and their country to destruction. And if the *plague* could have been confined only to those who were *partakers in the guilt*, had it travelled hither from Marseilles, those wretches would have died with less title to *pity* than a *highway-man* going to the gallows.

But it happens very *unluckily*, that for *some time past* all endeavours or proposals from private persons to advance the public service, however honestly and innocently designed, have been called FLYING IN THE KING'S FACE ; and this, to my knowledge, hath been the style of *some persons*, whose *ancestors* (I mean those among them who *had any*) and *themselves*, have been *flying in princes*
faces.

faces these fourscore years; and from their own inclinations would do so still, if their interest did not lead them to *fly in the face* of a kingdom, which hath given them *wings* to enable them for such a *flight*.

Thus, about four years ago, when a discourse * was published, endeavouring to persuade our people to wear their own woollen manufactures, full of the most dutiful expressions to the king, and without the least *party hint*, it was termed *flying in the king's face*; the printer was prosecuted in the manner we all remember, and, I hope it *will somewhere be remembered further*, the jury kept eleven hours, and sent back nine times, till they were under the necessity of leaving the prisoner to the mercy of the court, by a *special verdict*; the † judge on the bench *invoking God for his witness*, when he asserted, that the author's design was to bring in the *pretender*.

And thus also my own poor endeavours to prevent the ruin of my country by the admission of Wood's coin, were called by the same persons, *flying in the king's face*; which I directly deny: for I cannot allow that *vile* representation of the royal *countenance* in William Wood's adulterate copper, to be his sacred majesty's *face*; or, if it were, my *flying* was not against the *impression*, but the *baseness* of the *metal*; because I well remembered, that the *image* which Nebuchadnezzar commanded to be set up for all men to fall down and

worship

* The proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures.

† Judge Whitshed.

worship it, was not of COPPER but pure GOLD. And I am heartily sorry, we have so few royal images of that metal among us; the sight whereof, although it could hardly encrease our veneration for his majesty, which is already so great, yet would very much enliven it with the mixture of comfort and satisfaction.

Alexander the Great would suffer no statuary, except Phidias, to carve his image in stone or metal. How must he have treated such an operator as Wood, who goes about with *sack-fulls* of *drofs*, odiously misrepresenting his prince's countenance; and would force them by thousands upon every one of us at above *six times the value*.

But, notwithstanding all that hath been objected by William Wood himself, together with his *favourers, abettors, supporters*, either *public* or *private*; by those who *connive* at this project, or *discourage* and *discountenance* his *opposers* for fear of lessening their *favour*, or hazarding their *employments*; by those, who endeavour to *damp* the *spirit* of the people raised against this coin, or check the honest zeal of such as by their *writings* or *discourses* do all they can to keep it up; by those *softeners, sweeteners, compounders, and expedient-mongers*, who *shake* their heads so strongly that we can *hear their pockets jingle*; I did never imagine, that in detecting the practices of such *enemies* to the kingdom, I was *flying in the king's face*; or thought they were better *representers* of his majesty, than that very coin, for which they are *secret* or *open* advocates.

IF

If I were allowed to recite only those *wishes* of the nation, which may be in our power to attain; I think they might be summed up in these few following.

First, that an end might be put to our apprehensions of Wood's half-pence, and to any danger of the *like* destructive scheme for the future.

Secondly, that half-pence might be coined in this kingdom by a public mint with due limitations.

Thirdly, that the sense of both houses of parliament, at least of the house of commons, was declared by some *unanimous* and *hearty* votes against wearing any silk or woollen manufactures imported from abroad; as likewise against wearing Indian silks or calicoes, which are forbidden under the highest penalties in England: and it behoves us to take example from so wise a nation; because we are under a *greater necessity* to do so, since *we* are not allowed to *export* any woollen manufactures of our own; which is the principal branch of foreign trade in England.

Fourthly, that some effectual methods may be taken to civilize the poorer sort of our natives in all those parts of this kingdom, where the Irish abound, by introducing among them our language and customs; for want of which they live in the utmost ignorance, barbarity, and poverty, giving themselves wholly up to idleness, nastiness, and thievery, to the very great and just reproach of too many landlords. And if I had in me the least spirit of a *projector*, I would engage, that this
might

might be effected in a few years at a very inconsiderable charge.

Fifthly, that due encouragement should be given to *agriculture*; and a stop put to that pernicious practice of graziers engrossing vast quantities of land, sometimes at great distance; whereby the country is extremely depopulated.

Sixthly, that the defects in those acts for planting forest trees might be fully supplied, since they have hitherto been wholly ineffectual; except about the demesnes of a few gentlemen; and even there in general very unskilfully made, and thriving accordingly. Neither hath there yet been due care taken to preserve what is planted, or to enclose grounds; not one hedge in a hundred coming to maturity for want of skill and industry. The neglect of *copping* woods cut down hath likewise been of very evil consequences. And if men were restrained from that unlimited liberty of *cutting down their own woods* before the proper time, as they are in some other countries, it would be a mighty benefit to the kingdom. For, I believe, there is not another example in Europe of such a prodigious quantity of excellent timber cut down in so short a time, with so little advantage to the country either in *shipping* or *building*.

I may add that absurd practice of cutting *turf*, without any regularity; whereby great quantities of restorable land are made utterly desperate, many thousands of cattle destroyed, the *turf* more difficult to come at, and carry home, and less fit for burning; the air made unwholesome,
by

by stagnating pools and marshes; and the very sight of such places offensive to those who ride by. Neither should that odious custom be allowed, of cutting *scraws* (as they call them) which is flaying of the green surface of the ground to cover their cabins, or make up their ditches; sometimes in shallow soils, where all is gravel within a few inches; and sometimes in low grounds, with a thin green sward, and sloughy underneath; which last turns all into bog by this mismanagement. And I have heard from very skilful country men, that by those two practices in *turf* and *scraws*, the kingdom loseth some hundreds of acres of profitable land every year; besides the irreparable loss of many skirts of bogs, which have a green coat of grass, and yet are mangled for *turf*; and besides the want of canals by regular cutting, which would not only be of great convenience for bringing their *turf* home at an easy rate, but likewise render even the larger bogs more dry and safe for summer pasture.

These, and some other speculations of the like kind, I had intended to publish in a particular discourse against this session of parliament; because, in some periods of my life, I had opportunity and curiosity to observe, from what causes those great errors in every branch of country management have arisen; of which I have now ventured to relate but few out of very many; whereof some, perhaps, would not be mentioned without giving offence, which I have endeavoured by all possible means to avoid. And,
for

for the same reason, I chose to add here the little I thought proper to say on this subject.

But, as to the lands of those who are *perpetual absentees*, I do not see any probability of their being ever improved. In former times, their tenants sat at easy rents; but for some years past, they have been, generally speaking, more terribly racked by the dexterity of *merciless agents* from England, than even those who held under the severest landlords here. I was assured upon the place, by great numbers of credible people, that a prodigious estate in the county of Cork being let upon leases for lives, and great fines paid, the rent was so high, that the tenants begged leave to surrender their *leases*, and were content to lose their *fines*.

The cultivating and improvement of land is certainly a subject worthy of the highest enquiry in any country, but especially in ours; where we are so strangely limited in every branch of trade, that can be of advantage to us, and utterly deprived of those, which are of the greatest importance; whereof I defy the most learned man in Europe, to produce me an example from any other kingdom in the world: for we are denied the *benefit* which God and *nature* intended to us; as manifestly appears by our *happy situation for commerce*, and the *great number of our excellent ports*. So that I think, little is left us, besides the cultivating our own soil, encouraging *agriculture*, and making great plantations of trees, that we might not be under the necessity of sending
ing

ing for *corn* and *bark* from England: and *timber* from other countries. This would increase the number of our inhabitants, and help to consume our natural products, as well as manufactures at home. And I shall never forget what I once ventured to say to a great man in England, That few *politicians*, with all their schemes, are half so useful members of a commonwealth, as an *honest farmer*; who, by skilfully draining, fencing, manuring, and planting, hath increased the intrinsic value of a piece of land; and thereby done a *perpetual service* to his country; which it is a great controversy, whether any of the *former* ever did, since the creation of the world; but no controversy at all, that ninety-nine in a hundred have done abundance of mischief.

Although, in the foregoing letters, Dr. Swift talks of liberty in a strain highly becoming a warm and zealous defender of the rights of his country, which he maintains with great force of law, reason, justice, and eloquence; he never once deviates, in the whole course of his arguments, from the distinguishing characteristics of the most loyal subject; whatever might, to the contrary, have been supposed by a few degenerate slaves and sycophants, in those days; even by that sort of people, who, as the wise Lord Bacon expresses it, would set a house on fire, for the convenience of roasting their own eggs at the flame.
D. Swift.

However, indeed, such was the iniquity of the times, that a reward of 300 l. was offered for the author of the fourth letter, chiefly because he had maintained therein the liberty of his country, and declared in very high terms, worthy of a brave and resolute mind, that he would continue firm and faithful to his sovereign Lord the King, whatever turn, in the vicissitudes of this world, his majesty's affairs might possibly take in other parts of his dominions.—I shall only remark upon this doctrine, the

86 THE DRAPIER'S LETTERS.

contrary of which would, I think, have been high treason, and against his oath of allegiance, that how much soever it was condemned in the year 1724, by slaves and flatterers; it was, in 1745, so universally established in the minds of men, that if there had been occasion for the people of Ireland to have drawn the sword in defence of their sovereign, (which, beside their loyalty and affection to his majesty, they have many reasons to thank God for, that there was not,) K. George II. would undoubtedly have been supported in his right to the imperial kingdom of Ireland, let his majesty's affairs in other parts of his dominions have taken what turn they might, by 300,000 as brave militia as any to be found throughout all Europe; even by the grand-children of those men so renowned for their valorous achievements in the days of K. William III.—As the author of the fourth letter could not be discovered, Harding the printer was indicted in the usual forms, and brought to the King's bench, to be tried before that William Whitshed above mentioned. But the noble jury, friends to their country, and to the public interest, would not find the bill. Whereupon the Chief Justice, in a rage, dissolved the jury: on account of which, he deserved to have been impeached by the house of commons; because the dissolving of a grand jury, &c. See the note affixed to *Resolutions of the Commons of England*, vol. III. Swift.

The

THE DRAPIER DEMOLISHED, and set out in his own proper Colours; being a full CONFUTATION of all his ARGUMENTS against Mr. WOOD'S HALFPENCE.

By WILLIAM WOOD, Esq;

Written in the year 1724.

Ye good people of Ireland,

I Make not the least doubt, when ye have impartially weighed and considered what I shall offer upon the present occasion in my own defence, and against your Drapier; when ye shall make an exact *assay* of the arguments on both sides, between him and me; and, lastly, when ye shall observe, as I shall point it out, the abusive and reproachful language with which he has treated me; I say, as I said before, I make not the least doubt, but ye will all, to a man, reject him, and embrace me with open arms.

In his first letter to the *tradesmen, shopkeepers, farmers, and common people in general, of the kingdom of Ireland* (Vol. III. p. 343.) he begins with the wheedling preamble of *brethren, friends, countrymen, and fellow-subjects*. A loving beginning indeed! But I wonder which of us two loves you best; he that is getting you no money at all, or I, who am this present providing more money for you, than you shall know what to do with. O sad! O sad! I am really concerned for

88 THE DRAPIER DEMOLISHED.

the poor Drapier. Soon after he proceeds, and says,

“It is a great fault among you, that when a person writes with no other intention than to do you good, you will not be at the pains to read his advices.” (p. 344.)

Artful enough indeed! This he did to draw you in like so many gudgeons, to swallow his false arguments; and you see he has accomplished his end at last; for had ye not read his letters, ye might have had the benefit of my halfpence these five or six months past.

“Now, you must know, that the halfpence and farthings in England pass for very little more than they are worth; and if you should beat them to pieces, and sell them to the brazier, you would not lose much above a penny in a shilling. But Mr. Wood made his halfpence of such base metal, and so much smaller than the English ones, that the brazier would hardly give you above a penny of good money for a shilling of his.” (p. 346.)

Ay, would he give three pence. But one may see his malice here with half an eye. He does not tell of the vast expence and trouble I am at in coining; the number of clerks I keep in pay; how much I was out of pocket in getting my *patent*; the great expence I shall be at in shipping them to Ireland; which must, in the nature of things, be a vast drawback to the profit which I ought to have for my trouble; and therefore, it cannot be supposed, I can either put as much, or

as

as good copper in the halfpence for Ireland, as those for England. But, good Lord! is not an halfpenny a halfpenny, when once it is called so; and if it passes for an halfpenny, can you expect any more? Good people, never mind one word he says, though he sells you a dozen hats at five shillings a piece, which is three pound, is but five shillings in my money; this is perfect *transubstantiation*, to juggle you out of your senses—Three pound is but five shillings! Well, if this be his computation, I have done.

“This same Mr. Wood was able to attend
 “constantly for his own interest;” (and why should not I?) “he is an Englishman, and had
 “great friends,” (God be thanked for that;)
 “and it seems, knew very well where to give
 “money to those that would speak to others,
 “that could speak to the King, and would tell a
 “fair story.” (I grant that, and what would he infer?) Then he proceeds: “If his Majesty the
 “King, saw that it would utterly ruin the king-
 “dom of Ireland, he would shew his displeasure
 “to some body or other. But a word to the
 “wife is enough.” (We know his meaning by his mumping; he had as well spoken what he thought, like an honest man.) He proceeds:
 “Most of you must have heard, with what anger
 “our honourable house of commons received an
 “account of this Wood’s patent. There were
 “several fine speeches made upon it, and plain
 “proofs, that it was all a wicked cheat, from the
 “bottom to the top; and several smart votes were:

“printed, which that same Wood had the assurance to answer likewise in print, and in so confident a way, as if he were a better man than our whole parliament put together.” (p. 347, 348.)

The parliament was angry—made speeches—found me to be a wicked cheat—and I answered as if I had been a better man than the whole parliament.—Well, I find this Drapier will say any thing; but I am very glad all the kingdom of Ireland knows to the contrary. Let the Drapier answer me only these three questions: Where did this parliament sit? And where are the speeches? And where is my answer?

“The common soldier, when he goes to the market or alehouse, will offer this money,” (meaning my halfpence;) “and if it be refused, perhaps he will swagger and hector, and threaten to beat the butcher or alewife,” [threaten indeed!] he will do it in earnest, “or take the goods by force, and throw them the bad halfpence.” [Why should he not? Is it any robbery if he pays them!] “In this and the like cases, the shopkeeper, or victualler, or any other tradesman, has no more to do, than to demand ten times the price of his goods, if it is to be paid in Wood’s money; for example, *twenty pence for a quart of ale.*” (p. 348.) The devil is in his conscience, *twenty pence for a quart of ale!* I believe such another proposal was never since Adam. To consider all other things in proportion, what mischief would this occasion?

That

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That is, fifteen shillings a bottle for claret; at eighteen pence a bottle; for a flask of Burgundy five and forty shillings; fifty shillings a day for a coach; ten shillings a dinner for a twelve penny ordinary; thirty shillings a day for a chair; ten pence a fresh egg; five pence a halfpenny roll; two pence halfpenny for a pint of small beer. In short, by his advice, *viĉtuallers*, *vintners*, and *trades-folk* would soon get all the money of the kingdom into their own hands, should they all follow the *pot of ale example*. And now to consider the poor, they would be undone by the Drapier's advice; the butcher would have eighteen pence for a sheep's head; the baker ten shillings for a twelve-penny loaf; and thus would it be in proportion as to all their other exigencies. No, no, rather take my advice; *two pence a quart, and my blessing*.

In p. 349. he denies that my halfpence are lawful money of England or Ireland. I suppose, then, he would have them lawful money of Scotland or Wales; for they must be lawful somewhere. For, does he think, under the scarcity of money we find at present, that we can afford to let fourscore and ten thousand pound ly dead? I need no other argument to shew what a friend he is to the *public*.

"They say 'Squire Conolly hath sixteen thousand pounds a year; now, if he sends for his rent to town, as it is likely he doth, he must have two hundred and fifty horses to bring up his half year's rent.'" (p. 350).

Suppose

Suppose he must, where is the great hardship? If a man of sixteen thousand a year cannot afford two hundred and fifty horses to draw his money, he deserves to want it. I'll engage his undertenants will lay it down at his door, and it shall not cost him a farthing for the carriage.

“These halfpence, if they once pass, will soon
“be counterfeited, because it may be cheaply
“done, the stuff is so base. The Dutch likewise
“will probably do the same thing, and send them
“over to us to pay for our goods.” (p. 350, 351.)

The stuff is good stuff, let him say what he will; and the halfpence are good halfpence, and I will stand by it: If I made them of silver, it would be the same thing to this grumbler. As for their being counterfeited, sure they counterfeited gold and silver, and can one help that? for there ever have been rogues of coiners in the world, and will be to the end of it. As for the Dutch, it is time enough to complain when they do coin. I am certain, they have not coined one halfpenny as yet; and if they should, I shall take care to stock you so well, that you shall have no occasion for theirs; so that they may carry them home again if they please.

“It would be very hard, if all Ireland should
“be put into one scale, and this sorry fellow
“Wood into the other; that Mr. Wood and his
“halfpence should weigh down this whole king-
“dom, by which England gets above a million
“of good money every year clear into their poc-
“kets;

“kets; and that is more than the English do by
“all the world besides.” (p. 352.)

Parturiunt montes—But I beg pardon for talking to him in a language which he does not understand.

“A famous *law book*, called *The mirrour of justice*, discoursing of the charters (or laws) ordained by our *ancient kings*, declares the law to be as follows: It was ordained, that no *king* of this realm should *change, impair, or amend*, or make any *money* than of *gold or silver*, without the assent of all the counties; that is, as my lord Coke (1 Inst. 576.) says, without the assent of *parliament*.” (p. 354.)

Then he concludes, according to custom, with his fine flattering speeches.

“I will now, my dear friends, to save you the trouble, set before you in short what the law obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you to.” (This Drapier is an excellent lawyer: I wonder he is not made a Lord Chancellor.)

“First, you are obliged to take all money in payments, which is coined by the king, and is of the English standard or weight, provided it be of gold or silver.

“Secondly, you are not obliged to take any money which is not of gold or silver.—

“Thirdly, much less are we obliged to take those vile halfpence of that same Wood.—

“Therefore, my friends, stand to it one and all: refuse this filthy trash. It is no treason to rebel against Mr. Wood. His Majesty, in his
“patent,

“patent, obliges no body to take these halfpence.”
(p. 356, 357.)

So then, at this rate, they are coined for no body by some body; and some body is to get nothing by no body. I have made a fine hand of my patent and coinage. Ye see, gentlemen, the force of that argument which the Drapier offers; but I find logic is not his talent. Thus have I, with great patience, gone through this injurious piece of satire upon myself, contained in this first letter. But knowing that the best undertakers have always met with enemies and detractors, I comfort myself that I have far defeated this malicious author; that you are all convinced, I am now for all your goods; and though a perfect stranger to the country of Ireland, yet a little time will shew what industry and pains it has cost me, to make you a flourishing and a happy people. It is my inclination to preserve a good understanding between me and you, however wicked people may endeavour to interpose. Before I conclude, I have one complaint more: I am told, that *pitiful, malicious, insidious, undermining, scribbling Drapier* set on a parcel of *tattered, filthy, Irish, butter-milk, potatoe scoundrels*, to carry my effigies about in *Wood*, and afterwards hang it at Stephen's Green [see the following page] for which I hope, when the parliament sits, to have ample satisfaction. I am glad that none of the gentry of Ireland were concerned in that abominable procession.

I am, your best friend,

W. W.

A full

A full and true account of the solemn procession to the GALLOWS, at the execution of WILLIAM WOOD, Esq; and hard-ware man. *

Written in the year 1724.

SOME time ago, upon a report spread, that William Wood, hard-ware man, was concealed in his brother-in-law's † house here in Dublin, a great number of people, of different conditions, and of both sexes, crowded about the door, determinately bent to take revenge upon him, as a coiner, and a counterfeiter. Amongst the rest, a certain curious person, standing in a corner, observed, that they all discovered their resentments in the proper terms and expressions of their several trades and callings; whereof he wrote down as many as he could remember; and was pleased to communicate them to me, with leave to publish them, for the use of those, who, at any time hereafter, may be at a loss for proper words, wherein to express their good dispositions towards the said William Wood.

The

* In this piece the author makes the several artificers attend William Wood (represented by a log of timber) to the gallows, and each tradesman expresses his resentment in the terms of his proper calling. Then follows the procession, most humorously described. The whole is a piece of ridicule too powerful for the strongest gravity to withstand. *Orrery.*

† One Molyneux an ironmonger.

The people cried out to have him delivered into their hands.

Says the parliament-man. *Expel him the house.*

2d parliament-man. I second that *motion.*

Cook. I'll *baste* him.

2d Cook. I'll give him his *belly-full.*

3d Cook. I'll give him a *lick* in the *chops.*

4th Cook. I'll *sowce* him.

Drunken-man. I'll beat him as long as I can *stand.*

Bookfeller. I'll turn over a *new leaf* with him.

Saddler. I'll *pummel* him.

Glazier. I'll make the *light* shine through him.

Grocer. I'll *pepper* him.

Groom. I'll *curry* his hide.

'Pothecary. I'll *pound* him.

2d 'Pothecary. I'll beat him to *mummy.*

Shool-master. I'll make him an *example.*

Rabbit-catcher. I'll *ferret* him.

Paviour. I'll *thump* him.

Coiner. I'll give him a *rap.*

WHIG. *Down* with him.

TORY. *Up* with him.

Miller. I'll dash out his *grinders.*

2d Miller. *Dam* him.

Boatman. *Sink* him.

Scavenger. Throw him in the *kennel.*

Dyer. I'll beat him *black* and *blue.*

Bagnio-man. I'll make the *house* too *hot* for him.

Whore. *Pax* rot him.

2d Whore. Let me *alone* with him.

3d Whore. *Clap* him up.

Mustard-maker. I'll have him by the *nose.*

Curate.

Curate. I'll make the *devil come out of him*.
 Popish priest. I'll *send him to the devil*.
 Dancing-master. I'll *teach him better manners*.
 2d Dancing-master. I'll make him cut a *caper*
 three story high.
 Farmer. I'll *traff him*.
 Taylor. I'll fit on his *skirts*.
 2d Taylor. *Hell* is too good for him.
 3d Taylor. I'll *pink* his *doublet*.
 4th Taylor. I'll make his a— make *buttons*.
 Basket-maker. I'll *hamper* him.
 Fiddler. I'll have him by the *ears*.
 2d Fiddler. I'll bang him to some *tune*.
 Barber. I'll have him by the *beard*.
 2d Barber. I'll pull his *whiskers*.
 3d Barber. I'll make his *hair* stand on end.
 4th Barber. I'll *comb* his *locks*.
 Tinker. I'll try what *metal* he's made of.
 Cobbler. I'll make an *end* of him.
 Tobacconist. I'll make him *smoke*.
 2d Tobacconist. I'll make him set up his *pipes*.
 Gold-finder. I'll make him *stink*.
 Hackney-coachman. I'll make him know his
driver.
 2d Hackney-coachman. I'll *drive* him to the devil.
 Butcher. I'll have a *limb* of him.
 2d Butcher. Let us *blow him up*.
 3d Butcher. My *knife* in him.
 Nurse. I'll *swaddle* him.
 Anabaptist. We'll *dip* the rogue in the *pond*.
 Ostler. I'll *rub* him *down*.
 Shoemaker. Set him in the *stocks*.

Banker. I'll kick him to *half-crowns*.

2d Banker. I'll *pay* him off.

Bowler. I'll have a *rubber* with him.

Gamester. I'll make his *bones rattle*.

Bodice-maker. I'll *lace* his sides.

Gardener. I'll make him *water his plants*.

Alewife. I'll *reckon* with him.

Cuckold. I'll make him pull in his *horns*.

Old woman. I'll *mumble* him.

Hangman. I'll *throttle* him.

But at last the people, having received assurances, that William Wood was neither in the house nor kingdom, appointed certain commissioners to hang him in effigy; whereof the whole ceremony and procession deserve to be transmitted to posterity.

First, the way was cleared by a detachment of the *blackguards*, with short sticks in their hands, and cockades of paper in their hats.

Then appeared William Wood, Esq; represented to the life, by an old piece of carved timber, taken from the keel of a ship. Upon his face, which looked very dismal, were fixed, at proper distances, several pieces of his own coin, to denote who he was, and to signify his calling and his crime. He wore on his head a peruke, very artfully composed of four old mops; a halter about his neck, served him for a cravat. His cloaths were indeed not so neat and elegant, as is usual with persons in his condition (which some censorious people imputed to affectation) for he

was

was covered with a large rugg of several colours in patchwork : he was borne upon the shoulders of an able-bodied porter. In his march by St. Stephen's green, he often bowed on both sides, to shew his respects to the company; his deportment was grave; and his countenance, though somewhat pensive, was very composed.

Behind him followed his father alone, in a long mourning cloak, with his hat over his nose, and a handkerchief in his left hand, to wipe the tears from his face.

Next in order marched the executioner *himself in person*; whose venerable aspect drew the eyes of the whole assembly upon him; but he was further distinguished by a halter, which he bore upon his left shoulder, as the badge of his office.

Then followed two persons hand in hand; the one representing William Wood's brother-in-law; the other a certain *saddler*, his intimate friend, whose name I forget. Each had a small kettle in his hand, wherein was a reasonable quantity of the new halfpence. At proper periods they shook their kettles, which made a melancholy sound, like the ringing of a knell for their partner and confederate.

After these followed several officers, whose assistance was necessary, for the more decent performance of the great work in hand.

The procession was closed with an innumerable crowd of people, who frequently sent out loud huzzas; which were censured by wiser heads, as a mark of inhumanity, and an ungenerous triumph

over the unfortunate, without duly considering the various vicissitudes of human life. However, as it becomes an impartial historian, I will not conceal one observation, that Mr. Wood himself appeared wholly unmoved, without the least alteration in his countenance; only when he came within sight of the fatal tree, which happened to be of the same species of timber with his own person, he seemed to be somewhat pensive.

At the place of execution he appeared undaunted, nor was seen to shed a tear. He made no resistance, but submitted himself, with great resignation, to the hangman, who was, indeed, thought to use him with too much roughness, neither kissing him, nor asking him pardon. His dying SPEECH was printed, and deserves to be written in letters of GOLD. Being asked, whether it were his own true genuine SPEECH, he did not deny it.

Those of the softer sex, who attended the ceremony, lamented, that so comely and well-*timbered* a man should come to so untimely an end. He hung but a short time; for, upon feeling his breast, they found it cold and stiff.

It is strange to think, how this melancholy spectacle turned the hearts of the people to compassion. When he was cut down, the body was carried through the whole city, to gather contributions for his wake; and all sorts of people shewed their liberality, according as they were able. The ceremony was performed in an alehouse of distinction, and in a manner suitable to the quality of the
the

the deceased. While the attendants were discouraging about his funeral, a worthy member of the assembly stood up, and proposed, that the body should be carried out the next day, and burned with the same pomp and formalities used at his execution; which would prevent the malice of his enemies, and all indignities that might be done to his remains. This was agreed to; and about nine o'clock on the following morning, there appeared a second procession. But, burning not having been any part of the sentence, authority thought fit to interpose, and the corpse was rescued by the civil power.

We hear the body is not yet interred; which occasions many speculations. But what is more wonderful, it is positively affirmed by many who pretend to have been eye-witnesses, that there does not appear the least alteration in any one lineament or feature of his countenance; nor visible decay in his whole frame, further than what had been made by worms, long before his execution. The solution of which difficulty, I shall leave among naturalists.

Some CONSIDERATIONS on the attempts to
pass Mr. WOOD'S BRASS MONEY in Ireland.

By a lover of his country.

IT is a melancholy consideration, to see *the several resolutions and addresses of both houses of parliament of Ireland, during their late session, the late address of his majesty's justices and privy-council of that kingdom, and the petition of the county of the city of Dublin*; whereby the unanimous sense of this nation, and *the great apprehensions they were under, from importing and uttering copper halfpence and farthings in Ireland, by virtue of the patent granted to William Wood*, have been represented in the strongest terms: I say, it is a melancholy consideration, to see the force of all these representations, eluded by the petitions of a single person, such as Mr. Wood.

If justice stood on the side of this single person, it ought to give good men pleasure, to see that right should take place; but when, on the contrary, the commonweal of a whole nation, the quieting the minds of a people, distracted with apprehension of the utmost danger to their properties, nay, the preservation of the purity of their laws, is overborne by private interest; what good man but must lament such an unhappy state of affairs?

And since the matter was of this importance, and seemed to carry with it the testimony of Heaven,

ven, in the universal cry of the people, how could any particular members of a community, which had thus, with one voice, deprecated the evil, with any shew of reason take upon them the risk of any miscarriage in a trial, in a subordinate court?

It was to our gracious sovereign, that all these addressees and petitions were presented; it was into his fatherly hands the whole nation committed the care of their cause; and it would have been the highest piece of arrogance, for any person to have presumed to take upon themselves a share in that trust, which was only reposed in his majesty's hands. It is no wonder, therefore, *that every one was guarded with caution, against giving any advice or opinion in this matter of state; for which reason, they ought to apprehend great danger to themselves, from meddling in it.*

Though *this proceeding may seem extraordinary*, yet it being on a most extraordinary matter, on a matter of such importance, as seemed to involve the civil rights and properties of a whole nation in the issue of it; on a matter wherein the lords and commons were complainants, and the king immediately concerned, not only as general father of his people, but also as particular and only trustee, in whom his people reposed entire confidence to redress the grievances complained of; was it not intirely reasonable and fit, that every particular person of this kingdom should *rest* upon what was done by the whole body of the people, duly assembled in parliament, and not arrogantly assume

assume to themselves, a power of putting the fate of this nation to an issue before twelve men?

Since, then, it plainly appears, that this matter is of such a high nature, that no particular person ought to have intermeddled in it; it is to be presumed, that the non-appearance of persons *to support the united sense of both houses of parliament of Ireland*, can never be construed as a general diffidence, of being able *to support the charge brought against the patent and patentee*; though, indeed, it might proceed from a general and a very reasonable apprehension of a miscarriage in this important affair; wherein both houses of parliament had declared themselves so fully convinced and satisfied, upon evidence and examination taken in the most solemn manner; that for my part, I (and so I hope every true lover of his country on his part) will look upon their resolutions to have the same dignity (in this case) with a maxim in law, *quia maxima est eorum dignitas, et certissima autoritas, atque quod maxime omnibus probentur*.

And, therefore, I don't presume to enter the lists, in order to support the resolutions of both houses of parliament; for I look upon it that they are *so sure and uncontrollable, that they ought not to be questioned*; but it shall be the business of this paper, to point out some of the mischiefs which will naturally result from this coinage of Mr. Wood's, in case it should be forced upon us.

We are told, that the power of issuing this money of Mr. Wood's, is limited, *and without any compulsion, and currency enforced, to be received by*
such

such only, as would voluntarily and wilfully accept the same. But then, it is melancholy to behold, that this patent is explained to be obligatory on all his majesty's officers and ministers, to receive the same.

By this means, there is a foundation laid for the most unheard of confusion that ever was introduced into the business of a nation; for here is established a species of money, made of the basest metal, which none in employments under his majesty must refuse in payments to the crown, or to themselves, and yet all the rest of his subjects are at liberty to refuse the same, in payments to be made to them, either by his majesty, or by any other person.

Thus the revenue of the crown will be *highly prejudiced*, by the want of intrinsic value in the coin with which it is paid; and the army and all others in employments under his majesty, are the persons, who, in the first place, must bear the burthen of this mischief. For if they are the only persons who are *obliged* to receive this coin as current money, it is to be presumed, that no other persons will receive the same, but with considerable allowance for the difference between the *brass money*, and that made of gold and silver.

And, even with a considerable allowance, it will be hard to conceive, how this *brass money* will find any degree of currency in the world, without the assistance of a set of men, who may probably raise great estates in this unsettled course of affairs; but such a set of people ought never
to

to be encouraged by a wise government; for they will make their fortunes by the losses of good subjects, and by preying on the revenue of the prince: and yet these *hucksters*, or *money-jobbers*, will be found necessary, if this *brass money* is made current in the Exchequer.

To shew, in some measure, the proportion of this mischief to his majesty's revenue, and to those in immediate offices under him; it must be considered, that the gross revenue of this kingdom is about 500,000 l. *per annum*; out of which must be deducted the charge of collection and drawbacks; which, to be sure, the several collectors, and those who are to receive the drawbacks, will take care to receive in *Sterling* money; about 80,000 l. *per annum*; and there will remain, for the discharge of the civil and military lists, pensions, &c. 420,000 l. *per annum*, which sum, it is probable, issues out of the treasury by monthly payments of about 35,000 l. *per month*; for otherwise, the current cash in this nation could not possibly pay the revenue, and serve to carry on even the little business of this country; for it hath never been computed, that our current coin amounts to more than 500,000 l. so that if 40,000 l. of Mr. Wood's *brass money* is thrown in upon us (even admitting that no more of this species should be brought in) it is manifest, that that sum will be near one-twelfth of the whole coin in the nation; and more than one month's pay of the civil and military lists, and pensions, &c. of this kingdom.

If

If this sum should stagnate in the treasury, it is certain, there will be no greater loss (immediately brought) by this coin to the revenue, than the money that there lies dead amounts to: but, if it is issued in monthly payments to the army, and other his majesty's officers and ministers, as in all probability it must; then this coin, being composed of a base metal, current only in the exchequer, where it is received at an imaginary value, of at least 60 *per cent.* more than the real value of the material, it will be suddenly paid back again to the collectors, and, by that means, pass through the treasury, at least three times in every year; for there, we are told, it is to meet with *no let or molestation.*

And, seeing the currency of this money is not enforced on any other of his majesty's subjects, it is easy to conceive, that the difference of value between this coin, and the gold and silver which will be current in the nation, will be settled by the *money-jobbers*, at about 20 *per cent.* discount.

By which means alone, there will be lost in the intrinsic value of the revenue, the sum of 24,000 l. *per annum*, without computing for the losses which must necessarily be brought to the revenue, by the general diffidence, which the introducing this coin will create among the people: all which will be manifestly *destructive of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, and of dangerous consequence to the properties of the subject.*

And yet the evil has been here computed, on a supposition that only 40,000 l. of this money will
be

be uttered in the kingdom; but I take it to be impossible to limit the quantity that shall be brought in, especially if the importers of it have so sure a market for the same as the Exchequer.

For, though his Majesty should be able to prevent Mr. Wood from coining any more than 40,000 l. and should never hereafter be prevailed upon to grant *his special licence or authority*, to enlarge that sum, yet it will be impossible to prevent the importation of this sort of coin from other nations. And there have been such variety of *dyes* made use of by Mr. Wood in stamping his money, that it makes the discovery of counterfeiters more difficult; and the profit is so great, that it will be a sufficient temptation to our industrious neighbours of Holland to send large quantities of this coin to so sure a market as the Exchequer.

And perhaps it may be a question among lawyers, whether a man can be punished at the king's suit, for counterfeiting this coin, because it is not the current coin of the kingdom; for though these halfpence are to be received as money in the Exchequer, yet, in trade, they are no better than counters; and therefore, the patent may perhaps be construed to be no more than a grant of a *monopoly* to make those counters.

But it is worth observing, that if this patent is so worded, as that his Majesty's officers, employed in the receipt of his revenue, cannot refuse receiving this coin, it is directly contrary to two acts of parliament now in force in this kingdom,
and

and which are to be found in the books of rates distributed among the officers of the revenue.

For, by the act of tonnage and poundage, 14 and 15 Car. II. cap. 9. the duties thereby granted to his Majesty and his successors, are to be paid in lawful money of England. And by the act of excise, or new impost, 14 and 15 Car. II. cap. 8. it is expressly declared and enacted, *that the several rates and duties of excise, and all fines, penalties, forfeitures, or other sum or sums of money rated, imposed, set, or forfeited, in and by this act, are meant and intended to be current and lawful money or monies of England, and that all and every of the same be therefore demanded, received, paid, and satisfied accordingly.*

By these acts it is manifest, that the collectors are obliged to receive the several duties arising from the custom and excise, in no other money but such as is current and lawful money of England; and Mr. Wood's halfpence and farthings not being current or lawful money in England, or in this kingdom, if this patent is obligatory on them to receive payments in this coin, it is contrary to acts of parliament, and therefore void in itself.

And if the several collectors of his Majesty's revenue in this kingdom should receive the said duties, or any part of them, in Mr. Wood's *brass money*, it would be assuming to themselves a power to dispense with those acts of parliament, contrary to the sense of both houses of parliament, and contrary to their respective oaths; so that it seems

highly reasonable, because consonant to law, that *the officers of the revenue should give orders to the inferior officers, not to receive this coin.*

Perhaps it will be said, that the king hath a power to direct what coin he pleases to be received by the officers of his revenue; and that this patent is in consequence of such a prerogative. But it is to be hoped, that this doctrine will never be maintained, in favour of a coin, to which the whole nation, as well in parliament assembled as in their private capacities, have shewed a general dislike.

Moreover, as this case stands circumstanced, it is a great question whether his Majesty hath such a dispensing power: for though it should be allowed, that his Majesty might direct the receipt of his own revenue in what coin he pleases; yet it is most certain, that his Majesty does not intend to enforce the currency of Wood's money among any of his subjects, much less doth his Majesty intend to oblige those, who are entitled by act of parliament to be paid in current money of England, to receive this money of Mr. Wood's.

And it is plain, that, by the act of excise, there are several *fin*es, *penalties*, and *forfeitures*, which, by virtue of that act, are to be received in current money of England; and to half those *fin*es, *forfeitures* and *penalties*, the informers are entitled, by virtue of the said act: so that, if the officers should be obliged to receive them in *brass money*, the informers must necessarily lose the benefit of the said act; and I may venture to say, that act cannot

cannot be repealed but by another act; to be made by king, lords, and commons, and not by a patent.

All these things having been, among many other very weighty matters, laid before both houses of parliament of Ireland, it is not to be wondered, that *they represent, that the patent had been obtained in a clandestine and unprecedented manner, and by notorious misrepresentations of the state of Ireland.* For what can be more clandestine, than to obtain a patent, with powers not only *highly prejudicial to his Majesty's revenue, destructive of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, and of dangerous consequence to the properties of the subject,* but also, contrary to several acts of parliament? and that it was an unprecedented attempt, at least in this reign, will be readily allowed; therefore, all the representations made of the state of Ireland, in order to obtain this patent, may, with great truth, be called *notorious misrepresentations.*

But it has been said, that his Majesty cannot proceed against the patentee, but according to the known rules and maxims of law and justice: and God forbid that any one of this kingdom should advise his Majesty to subvert or dispense with any of our laws. No part of the addresses from the houses of parliament of Ireland, has the least tendency this way.

For, though the house of commons, in their second address to his Majesty, *most humbly beseech his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions to the several officers entrusted with the receipt of his Majesty's revenue, that they do not, on*

any pretence whatsoever, utter such halfpence and farthings : yet, if his Majesty had been graciously pleased to have given orders, according to this humble address of his people of Ireland, it is humbly conceived, that this would have been only an affirmance of the law of the land, as hath been said; and not any way contrary to law.

For, though his Majesty, by his patent under the great seal of Great-Britain, wills, requires, and commands his lieutenant, deputy, or other chief governor or governors of his kingdom of Ireland, and all other officers and ministers of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, in England, Ireland, or elsewhere, to be aiding and assisting to the said William Wood, his executors, &c. in the execution of all or any the powers, authorities, directions, matters or things to be executed by him or them, or for his or their benefit or advantage, by virtue and in pursuance of the said indentures ; yet it is in all things as becometh, &c. And this is to be expounded by the known laws of the land, and by other parts of the said patent, whereby it is manifest, that his Majesty never intended to enforce the currency of this money, to be received by any person that would not voluntarily and wilfully accept the same.

Therefore, since the people have shewed a general dislike of this coin, it is to be hoped, that some method will be found out, to ease their minds from the distraction they are under on this occasion,

A Short

Short VIEW of the STATE of IRELAND.

Written in the year 1727.

I AM assured, that it hath for some time been practised as a method of making mens court, when they are asked about the rate of lands, the abilities of tenants, the state of trade and manufactures in this kingdom, and how their rents are paid, to answer, that in their neighbourhood all things are in a flourishing condition, the rent and purchase of land every day encreasing. And if a gentleman happen to be a little more sincere in his representations; besides being looked on as not well affected, he is sure to have a dozen contradictors at his elbow. I think it is no manner of secret, why these questions are so *cordially* asked, or so *obligingly* answered.

But since, with regard to the affairs of this kingdom, I have been using all endeavours to subdue my indignation; to which indeed I am not provoked by any personal interest, not being the owner of one spot of ground in the whole *island*; I shall only enumerate, by rules generally known and never contradicted, what are the true causes of any country's flourishing and growing rich; and then examine what effects arise from those causes in the kingdom of Ireland.

The first cause of a kingdom's thriving, is, the fruitfulness of the soil, to produce the necessaries

and conveniences of life; not only sufficient for the inhabitants, but for exportation into other countries.

The second is, the industry of the people, in working up all their native commodities to the last degree of manufacture.

The third is, the conveniency of safe ports and havens, to carry out their own goods as much manufactured, and bring in those of others as little manufactured, as the nature of mutual commerce will allow.

The fourth is, that the natives should, as much as possible, export and import their goods in vessels of their own timber, made in their own country.

The fifth is, the privilege of a free trade in all foreign countries, which will permit them, except those who are in war with their own prince or state.

The sixth is, by being governed only by laws made with their own consent; for otherwise, they are not a free people. And therefore all appeals for justice, or applications for favour or preferment, to another country, are so many grievous impoverishments.

The seventh is, by improvement of land, encouragement of agriculture, and thereby encreasing the number of their people; without which, any country, however blessed by nature, must continue poor.

The eighth is, the residence of the prince, or chief administrator of the civil power.

The ninth is, the concourse of foreigners for education,

education, curiosity, or pleasure; or as to a general mart of trade.

The tenth is, by disposing all offices of honour, profit or trust, only to the natives; or at least with very few exceptions, where strangers have long inhabited the country, and are supposed to understand and regard the interest of it as their own.

The eleventh is, when the rents of lands, and profits of employments, are spent in the country which produced them, and not in another; the former of which will certainly happen, where the love of our native country prevails.

The twelfth is, by the public revenues being all spent and employed at home, except on the occasions of a foreign war.

The thirteenth is, where the people are not obliged, unless they find it for their own interest or conveniency, to receive any monies, except of their own coinage by a public mint, after the manner of all civilized nations.

The fourteenth is, a disposition of the people of a country to wear their own manufactures, and import as few incitements to luxury either in cloaths, furniture, food, or drink, as they possibly can live conveniently without.

There are many other causes of a nation's thriving, which I at present cannot recollect; but without advantage from at least some of these, after turning my thoughts a long time, I am not able to discover from whence our wealth proceeds, and therefore would gladly be better informed. In the mean time, I will here examine, what share

share falls to Ireland of these causes, or of the effects and consequences.

It is not my intention to complain, but barely to relate facts; and the matter is not of small importance. For it is allowed, that a man who lives in a solitary house, far from help, is not wise in endeavouring to acquire in the neighbourhood the reputation of being rich; because those, who come for gold, will go off with pewter and brass, rather than return empty: and in the common practice of the world, those who possess most wealth, make the least parade; which they leave to others, who have nothing else to bear them out in shewing their faces on the *exchange*.

As to the first cause of a nation's riches, being the fertility of the soil, as well as temperature of climate, we have no reason to complain; for although the quantity of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bogg and rock and barren mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in England; yet the native productions, which both kingdoms deal in, are very near an equality in point of goodness, and might with the same encouragement be as well manufactured. I except mines and minerals; in some of which, however, we are only defective in point of skill and industry.

In the second, which is the industry of the people, our misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of discouragements.

The conveniency of ports and havens, which nature hath bestowed so liberally on this kingdom,
is

is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon.

As to shipping of its own, Ireland is so utterly unprovided, that of all the excellent timber cut down within these fifty or sixty years, it can hardly be said, that the nation have received the benefit of one valuable house to dwell in, or one ship to trade with.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince or state: yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused us in the most momentous parts of commerce; besides an act of navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed; and a thousand other unexampled circumstances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the rest.

It is too well known, that we are forced to obey some laws we never consented to; which is a condition I must not call by its true uncontroverted name, for fear of lord Chief-justice Whitshed's ghost, with his *libertas et natale forum*,* written for a motto on his coach, as it stood at the door of the court, while he was perjurying himself to betray both. Thus we are in the condition of patients, who have physic sent them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution

* Liberty and my native country.

constitution and the nature of their disease: and thus we are forced to pay five hundred *per cent.* to decide our properties: in all which we have likewise the honour to be distinguished from the whole race of mankind.

As to the improvement of land; those few who attempt that, or planting, through covetousness, or want of skill, generally leave things worse than they were; neither succeeding in trees nor hedges; and, by running into the fancy of grazing, after the manner of the Scythians, are every day depopulating the country.

We are so far from having a king to reside among us, that even the viceroy is generally absent four-fifths of his time in the government.

No strangers from other countries make this a part of their travels; where they can expect to see nothing but scenes of misery and desolation.

Those who have the misfortune to be born here, have the least title to any considerable employment; to which they are seldom preferred, but upon a political consideration.

One third part of the rents of Ireland is spent in England; which, with the profit of employments, pensions, appeals, journies of pleasure or health, education at the *inns* of court and both universities, remittances at pleasure, the pay of all superior officers in the army, and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to England.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, silver, or even copper. In the Isle of Man, they coin

coin their own *silver*; every petty prince, vassal to the *emperor*, can coin what money he pleaseth. And in this, as in most of the articles already mentioned, we are an exception to all other states or monarchies, that were ever known in the world.

As to the last, or fourteenth article, we take special care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole course of our lives. Both sexes, but especially the women, despise and abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, even those which are better made than in other countries; particularly a sort of silk plaid, through which the workmen are forced to run a kind of gold thread, that it may pass for Indian. Even ale and potatoes are imported from England, as well as corn; and our foreign trade is little more than importation of French wine, for which, I am told, we pay ready money.

Now, if all this be true, (upon which I could easily enlarge) I would be glad to know, by what secret method it is, that we grow a rich and flourishing people, without *liberty, trade, manufactures, inhabitants, money, or the privilege of coining; without industry, labour, or improvement of land;* and with more than half the rent and profits of the whole *kingdom* annually exported, for which we receive not a single farthing: and, to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the linen of the North, a trade casual, corrupted, and at mercy; and some butter from Corke. If we do flourish, it must be against every law of nature and reason: like the thorn at Glastenbury, that blossoms in the midst of winter.

Let

Let the worthy *commissioners*, who come from England, ride round the kingdom, and observe the face of nature, or the face of the natives; the improvement of the land; the thriving numerous plantations; the noble woods; the abundance and vicinity of country-seats; the commodious farmers houses and barns; the towns and villages, where every body is busy, and thriving with all kind of manufactures; the shops full of goods wrought to perfection, and filled with customers; the comfortable diet and dress, and dwellings of the people; the vast numbers of ships in our harbours and docks, and ship-wrights in our sea-port towns; the roads crouded with carriers, laden with rich manufactures; the perpetual concourse to and fro of pompous equipages.

With what envy and admiration would those gentlemen return from so delightful a progress? what glorious reports would they make, when they went back to England?

But my heart is too heavy to continue this irony longer; for, it is manifest, that, whatever stranger took such a journey, would be apt to think himself travelling in Lapland or *Iceland*, rather than in a country so favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil, and temperature of climate. The miserable dress, and diet, and dwelling of the people; the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom; the old seats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their stead: the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness upon butter-

butter-milk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an English hog-sty to receive them. These, indeed, may be comfortable sights to an English spectator; who comes for a short time, only *to learn the language*, and returns back to his own country, whither he finds all our wealth transmitted.

Nostra miseria magna est.

There is not one argument used to prove the riches of Ireland, which is not a logical demonstration of its poverty. The rise of our rents is squeezed out of the very blood, and vitals, and cloaths, and dwellings of the tenants, who live worse than English beggars. The lowness of interest, in all other countries a sign of wealth, is in us a proof of misery; there being no trade to employ any borrower. Hence alone comes the dearness of land, since the savers have no other way to lay out their money: hence the dearness of necessaries for life; because the tenants cannot afford to pay such extravagant rates for land, (which they must take, or go a-begging) without raising the price of cattle, and of corn, although themselves should live upon chaff. Hence our increase of buildings in this city; because workmen have nothing to do but to employ one another, and one half of them are infallibly undone. Hence the daily increase of *bankers*, who may be a necessary evil in a trading country, but so ruinous in ours; who, for their private advantage, have sent away all our silver, and one-

third of our gold; so that, within three years past, the running cash of the nation, which was about five hundred thousand pounds, is now less than two; and must daily diminish, unless we have liberty to coin, as well as that important kingdom, the Isle of Man, and the meanest principality in the German empire, as I before observed.

I have sometimes thought, that this paradox, of the kingdom growing rich, is chiefly owing to those worthy gentlemen the BANKERS; who, except some custom-house officers, birds of passage, oppressive thrifty 'squires, and a few others, who shall be nameless, are the only thriving people among us: and I have often wished, that a law were enacted, to hang up half a dozen *bankers* every year, and thereby interpose at least some short delay to the further ruin of Ireland.

Ye are idle, ye are idle, answered Pharaoh to the Israelites, when they complained to *his majesty*, that they were forced to make bricks without straw.

England enjoys every one of those advantages for enriching a nation, which I have above enumerated; and, into the bargain, a good million returned to them every year, without labour or hazard, or one farthing value received on our side: but, how long we shall be able to continue the payment, I am not under the least concern. One thing I know, that *when the hen is starved to death, there will be no more golden eggs*.

I think it a little unhospitable, and others may call it a subtle piece of malice, that, because there may be a dozen families in this town able

to entertain their English friends in a generous manner at their tables, their guests, upon their return to England, shall report, that we wallow in riches and luxury.

Yet, I confess, I have known an hospital, where all the household officers grew rich; while the poor, for whose sake it was built, were almost starving for want of food and raiment.

To conclude: If Ireland be a rich and flourishing kingdom, its wealth and prosperity must be owing to certain causes, that are yet concealed from the whole race of mankind; and the effects are equally invisible. We need not wonder at strangers, when they deliver such paradoxes; but a native and inhabitant of this kingdom, who gives the same verdict, must be either ignorant to stupidity, or a man-pleaser, at the expence of all honour, conscience, and truth*.

* The present state of Ireland || is, in general, as flourishing as possible. Agriculture is cultivated: arts and sciences are encouraged: and, in the space of eighteen years, which is almost the full time that I have known it, no kingdom can be more improved. Ireland, in relation of England, may be compared to a younger sister lately come of age, after having suffered all the miseries of an injured minor; such as law-suits, encroachments upon her property, violation of her rights, destruction of her tenants, and every evil that can be named. At length, time, and her own noble spirit of industry, have entirely relieved her, and, some little heart-burnings excepted, she enjoys the quiet possession of a very ample fortune, subject, by way of acknowledgment, to certain quit-rents, payable to the elder branch of her house. *Take her all in all*, she cannot have a greater fortune than she deserves. *Orrery.*

|| 1752.

AN ANSWER TO A PAPER,

CALLED,

A MEMORIAL of the poor Inhabitants,
Tradesmen, and Labourers of the Kingdom of
IRELAND.

Written in the year 1728.

I Received a *paper* from you, whoever you are, printed without any name of author or printer; and sent, I suppose, to me, among others, without any particular distinction. It contains a complaint of the dearness of corn; and some schemes for making it cheaper, which I cannot approve of.

But, pray permit me, before I go further, to give you a short history of the steps, by which we arrived at this hopeful situation.

It was, indeed, the shameful practice of too many Irish farmers, to wear out their ground with ploughing; while, either through poverty, laziness, or ignorance, they neither took care to manure it as they ought, nor gave time to any part of the land to recover itself; and, when their leases are near expiring, being assured that their landlords would not renew, they ploughed even the meadows, and made such havock, that many landlords were considerable sufferers by it*.

This

* This practice probably produced the penal clauses to prohibit ploughing, mentioned in the *proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures*. Hawkes.

This gave birth to that abominable race of graziers, who, upon expiration of the farmers leases, were ready to engross great quantities of land; and the gentlemen having been before often ill paid, and their land wore out of heart, were too easily tempted, when a rich grazier made an offer to take all their land, and give them security for payment. Thus, a vast tract of land, where twenty or thirty farmers lived, together with their cottagers and labourers in their several cabins, became all desolate, and easily managed by one or two herdsmen and their boys; whereby the master-grazier, with little trouble, seized to himself the livelihood of an hundred people.

It must be confessed, that the farmers were justly punished for their *knavery, brutality, and folly*. But neither are the *'squires and landlords* to be excused; for to them is owing the depopulating of the country, the vast number of *beggars*, and the ruin of those few sorry improvements we had.

That *farmers* should be limited in ploughing, is very reasonable, and practised in England; and might have easily been done here by penal clauses in their leases: but to deprive them in a manner altogether from tilling their lands, was a most stupid want of thinking.

Had the *farmers* been confined to plough a certain quantity of land, with a penalty of ten pounds an acre for whatever they exceeded, and farther limited for the three or four last years of

their leaves, all this evil had been prevented; the nation would have saved a *million of money*; and been more populous by above *two hundred thousand souls*.

For a people, denied the benefit of *trade*, to manage their lands in such a manner as to produce nothing, but what they are forbidden to trade with, or only such things as they can neither export nor manufacture to advantage, is an absurdity that a *wild Indian* would be ashamed of; especially when we add, that we are content to purchase this hopeful commerce by sending to foreign markets for our daily bread.

The *grazier's* employment is to feed great flocks of *sheep*, or *black cattle*, or both. With regard to *sheep*, as folly is usually accompanied with perverseness, so it is here. There is something so monstrous to deal in a commodity, (further than for our own use) which we are not allowed to export manufactured, nor even unmanufactured, but to *one certain country*, and only to some *few* ports in that country; there is, I say, something so sottish, that it wants a name in our language to express it by: and the good of it is, that the more *sheep* we have, the fewer human creatures are left to wear the *wool*, or eat the *flesh*. Ajax was mad, when he mistook a flock of *sheep* for his enemies: but we shall never be sober, until we have the same way of thinking.

The other part of the *grazier's* business is what we call *black cattle*, producing *hides*, *tallow*, and *beef* for exportation: all which are good and useful

ful commodities, if rightly managed. But it seems, the greatest part of the *hides* are sent out raw, for want of *bark* to *tan* them; and that want will daily grow stronger: for, I doubt, the new project of *tanning* without it, is at an end. Our *beef*, I am afraid, still continues scandalous in foreign markets, for *the old reasons*. But our *tallow*, for any thing I know, may be good. However, to bestow the whole kingdom on *beef* and *mutton*, and thereby drive out half the people, who should eat their share, and force the rest to send sometimes as far as Egypt for bread to eat with it, is a most peculiar and distinguished piece of public œconomy, of which I have no comprehension.

I know very well that our ancestors the Scythians, and their posterity our kinsmen the Tartars, lived upon the blood and milk and raw flesh of their cattle, without one grain of *corn*: but I confess myself so degenerate, that I am not easy without *bread* to my victuals.

What amazed me for a week or two, was to see, in this prodigious plenty of *cattle*, and dearth of *human creatures*, and want of *bread*, as well as *money* to buy it, that all kind of *flesh meat* should be monstrously *dear*, beyond what was ever known in this kingdom. I thought it a defect in the laws, that there was not some regulation in the price of *flesh*, as well as *bread*: but I imagine myself to have guessed out the reason: in short, I am apt to think, that the whole kingdom is overstocked with *cattle*, both *black* and *white*: and as
it

it is observed, that the poor *Irish* have a vanity to be rather owners of two lean cows, than one fat, although with double the charge of grazing, and but half the quantity of milk; so I conceive it much more difficult at present to find a fat *bullock* or *weather*, than it would be, if half of them were fairly knocked on the head: for I am assured, that the district in the several markets, called *carrion-row*, is as reasonable as the poor can desire; only the circumstance of *money to purchase it*, and of *trade*, or *labour*, to *purchase that money*, are indeed wholly wanting.

Now, Sir, to return more particularly to you, and your memorial.

A hundred thousand barrels of *wheat*, you say, should be imported hither; and ten thousand pounds *premium* to the importers. Have you looked into the purse of the nation? I am no commissioner of the *treasury*; but am well assured, that the whole running *cash* would not supply you with a sum to purchase so much *corn*, which, only at twenty shillings a barrel, will be a hundred thousand pounds; and ten thousand more for the *premium*. But you will traffic for your *corn* with other goods: and where are those goods? If you had them, they are all engaged to pay the rents of *absentees*, and other occasions, in London, besides a huge balance of trade this year against us. Will foreigners take our bankers paper? I suppose, they will value it at little more than so much a quire. Where are these

rich

rich farmers and ingrossers of corn, in so bad a year, and so little sowing?

You are in pain for two shillings *premium*, and forget the twenty shillings for the price: find me out the latter, and I will engage for the former.

Your scheme for a tax for raising such a sum, is all visionary, and owing to a great want of knowledge in the *miserable state* of this nation. *Tea, coffee, sugar, spices, wine, and foreign cloths*, are the particulars you mention, upon which this tax should be raised. I will allow the two first, because they are unwholesome; and the last, because I should be glad if they were all burned; but I beg you will leave us our wine to make us a while forget our misery; or give your tenants leave to plough for *barley*. But I will tell you a *secret*, which I learned many years ago from the commissioners of the *customs* in London: they said, when any *commodity* appeared to be taxed above a *moderate rate*, the consequence was, to lessen that branch of the revenue by one half; and one of those gentlemen pleasantly told me, that the mistake of parliaments on such occasions, was owing to an error of computing two and two to make four; whereas, in the business of laying *heavy impositions*, two and two never made more than one; which happens by lessening the import, and the strong temptation of running such goods as paid high duties, at least in this kingdom. Although the women are as vain and extravagant as their lovers or their husbands
can

can deserve, and the men are fond enough of wine ; yet the number of both, who can afford such expences, is so small, that the major part must refuse gratifying themselves, and the duties will rather be lessened than increased. But, allowing no force in this argument ; yet so preternatural a sum, as one hundred and ten thousand pounds, raised all on a sudden, (for there is no dallying with hunger) is just in proportion with raising a million and a half in England ; which, as things now stand, would probably bring that opulent kingdom under some difficulties.

You are concerned how strange and surprizing it would be in foreign parts to hear, that the poor were starving in a RICH country, &c. Are you in earnest ? is Ireland the *rich country* you mean ? or are you insulting our *poverty* ? were you ever out of Ireland ? or were you ever in it till of late ? You may probably have a good employment, and are saving all you can to purchase a good estate in England. But by talking so familiarly of one hundred and ten thousand pounds by a *tax* upon a few *commodities*, it is plain, you are either naturally or affectedly ignorant of our present condition ; or else you would know and allow, that such a sum is not to be raised here, without a *general excise* ; since, in proportion to our wealth, we pay already in *taxes* more than England ever did in the height of the war. And when you have brought over your corn, who will be the buyers ? Most certainly, not the poor, who will not be *able* to purchase the twentieth part of it.

Sir,

Sir, upon the whole, your paper is a very crude piece, liable to more objections than there are lines; but, I think your meaning is good, and so far you are pardonable.

If you will propose a general contribution for supporting the poor in *potatoes* and *butter-milk*, till the new corn comes in, perhaps you may succeed better; because the thing at least is possible: and, I think, if our brethren in England would contribute upon this emergency, out of the million they gain from us every year, they would do a piece of *justice* as well as *charity*. In the mean time, go and preach to your own tenants to fall to the plough as fast as they can; and prevail with your neighbouring 'squires to do the same with theirs; or else die with the guilt of having driven away half the inhabitants, and starving the rest. For as to your scheme of raising *one hundred and ten thousand pounds*, it is as vain as that of Rabelais; which was to squeeze out wind from the posteriors of a dead ass.

But, why all this concern for the poor? We want them not, as the country is now managed; they may follow thousands of their leaders, and seek their bread abroad. Where the plough has no work, one family can do the business of fifty, and you may send away the other forty-nine. An admirable piece of husbandry, never known or practised by the wisest nations, who erroneously thought people to be the riches of a country.

If so wretched a state of things would allow it, methinks I could have a malicious pleasure, after
all

all the warning I have in vain given the public at my own peril for several years past, to see the consequences and events answering in every particular. I pretend to no sagacity: what I write was little more than what I had discoursed to several persons, who were generally of my opinion: and it was obvious to every common understanding, that such effects must needs follow from such causes. A fair issue of things begun upon party rage, while some sacrificed the public to fury, and others to ambition: while a spirit of faction and oppression reigned in every part of the country; where gentlemen, instead of consulting the ease of their tenants, or cultivating their lands, were worrying one another upon points of *whig* and *tory*, of *high-church* and *low-church*; which no more concerned them, than the long and famous controversy of *straps for razors**: while *agriculture* was wholly discouraged, and consequently half the farmers and labourers, and poorer tradesmen, forced to beggary or banishment: *Wisdom crieth in the streets; because I have called on you; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded. But ye have set at nought all my counsels, and would none of my reproof. I also will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh.*

I have now done with your memorial, and freely excuse your mistakes, since you appear to write as a stranger, and as of a country, which is left

* A piece of leather pasted on wood to be used with a certain powder, for the property and excellence of which several competitors eagerly contended. *Hawkef.*

left at liberty to enjoy the benefits of nature, and to make the best of those advantages which God hath given it in soil, climate, and situation.

But having lately sent out a paper, entitled, *a short view of the state of Ireland*; and hearing of an objection, that some people think I have treated the memory of the late Lord Chief Justice Whitshed with an appearance of severity: since I may not probably have another opportunity of explaining myself in that particular, I choose to do it here: laying it therefore down for a *postulatum*, which I suppose will be universally granted, that no *little creature* of so mean a birth and genius had ever the *honour* to be a *greater enemy* to his country, and to all kinds of virtue than HE, I answer thus; Whether there be two different goddesses called Fame, as some authors contend, or only one goddess founding two different trumpets, it is certain, that people distinguished for their *villany*, have as good a title to a blast from the *proper trumpet*, as those who are most renowned for their *virtues* have from the other; and have equal reason to complain if it be refused them. And accordingly the names of the most *celebrated profligates* have been faithfully transmitted down to posterity. And although the person here understood, acted his part in an obscure corner of the world, yet his talents might have shone with lustre enough in the noblest scene.

As to my naming a person dead, the plain honest reason is the best. He was armed with power

and will to do mischief, even where he was not provoked, as appeared by his prosecuting two *printers*, one to death, and both to ruin, who had neither offended God, nor the king, nor him, nor the public.

What an encouragement to vice is this? If an ill man be alive, and in power, we dare not attack him; and if he be weary of the world, or of his own villanies, he has nothing to do but die, and then his reputation is safe. For these excellent casuists know just *Latin* enough to have heard a most foolish precept, that *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*; so that if Socrates, and Anytus his accuser*, had happened to die together, the charity of survivors must either have obliged them to hold their peace, or to fix the same character on both. The only crime of charging the dead is, when the least doubt remains whether the accusation be true; but when men are openly abandoned, and lost to all shame, they have no reason to think it hard, if their memory be reproached. Whoever reports, or otherwise publisheth any thing, which it is possible may be false, that man is a slanderer; *hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto*. Even the least misrepresentation, or aggravation of facts, deserves the same censure in some degree: but in this case I am quite deceived, if my error hath not been on the side of extenuation.

I have

* Anytus, one of the wretches who accused Socrates of condemning the gods, and endeavouring to subvert the religion of his country. *Hawkes*.

I have now present before me the idea of some persons, (I know not in what part of the world) who spend every moment of their lives, and every turn of their thoughts while they are awake, (and probably of their dreams while they sleep) in the most detestable actions and designs; who delight in *mischief*, *scandal*, and *obloquy*, with the *hatred* and *contempt* of all mankind against them; but chiefly of those among their own party, and their own family; such, whose *odious qualities* rival each other for perfection; *avarice*, *brutality*, *faction*, *pride*, *malice*, *treachery*, *noise*, *impudence*, *dulness*, *ignorance*, *vanity*, and *revenge*, contending every moment for superiority in their breasts. Such creatures are not to be reformed; neither is it prudent, or safe, to attempt a reformation. Yet, although their memories will *rot*, there may be some benefits for their survivors, to smell it while it is *rotting*.

I am, S I R,

your humble servant,

Dublin, March

25. 1728.

A. B.

A VINDICATION of his Excellency JOHN Lord CARTERET, from the charge of favouring none but *Tories, High-churchmen, and Jacobites* *.

Written in the year 1730.

IN order to treat this important subject with the greatest fairness and impartiality, perhaps it may be convenient to give some account of his *excellency*; in whose life and character there are certain particulars, which might give a very just suspicion of some truth in the accusation he lies under.

He is descended from two noble, antient, and most loyal families, the Carterets and the Granvilles: too much distinguished, I confess, for what they acted, and what they suffered in defending the former constitution in church and state under king Charles the martyr; I mean that very prince, on account of whose martyrdom a
form

* The view of this piece seems to be to recommend moderation, and laugh political bigotry out of countenance. *Hawkes.*

In this piece the failings of the noble Lord, arising from the prejudices of great talents and a learned education, are finely displayed with infinite wit and humour. However, indeed, there is couched here abundance of satire. *Pistorides*, that poor, angry, bustling mortal, he treats with all imaginable contempt: but in his satire against *Traulus* he spares not to draw blood at every stroke; the former part of which is bitterly sarcastic, and the latter as bitterly ironical. His account of *Agefilaus* being caught by the *parson of the parish* riding on a hobby-horse with his children, and some other touches of the like sort, are truly diverting. *D. Swift.*

form of prayer, with fasting, was enjoined by act of parliament to be used on the 30th day of January every year, to implore the mercies of God, that the guilt of that sacred and innocent blood might not be visited on us or our posterity; as we may read at large in our common-prayer-books; which day hath been solemnly kept, even within the memory of many men now alive.

His excellency the present Lord was educated in the university of Oxford; from whence, with a singularity scarce to be justified, he carried away more Greek, Latin, and *philosophy*, than properly became a person of his rank, indeed much more of each than most of those, who are forced to live by their learning, will be at the unnecessary pains to load their heads with.

This was the rock he split on upon his first appearance in the world, and having just got clear of his guardians. For as soon as he came to town, some bishops, and clergymen, and other persons most eminent for learning and parts, got him among them; from whom, although he were fortunately dragged by a lady and the court, yet he could never wipe off the stain, nor wash out the tincture of his university acquirements and dispositions.

To this another misfortune was added, that it pleased God to endow him with great natural talents, memory, judgment, comprehension, eloquence, and wit; and, to finish the work, all these were fortified, even in his youth, with the advantages received by such employments, as

are best fitted both to exercise and polish the gifts of nature and education, having been ambassador in several courts, when his age would hardly allow him to take a degree; and made principal secretary of state at a period, when, according to custom, he ought to have been busied in losing his money at a chocolate-house; or in other amusements equally laudable and epidemic among persons of honour.

I cannot omit another weak side in his excellency. For it is known, and can be proved upon him, that Greek and Latin books might be found every day in his dressing-room, if it were carefully searched; and there is reason to suspect, that some of the said books have been privately conveyed to him by *tory* hands. I am likewise assured, that he hath been taken in the very fact of reading the said books, even in the midst of a session, to the great neglect of public affairs.

I own, there may be some grounds for this charge; because I have it from good hands, that when his excellency is at dinner with one or two scholars at his elbows, he grows a most unsupportable and unintelligible companion to all the fine gentlemen round the table.

I cannot deny, that his excellency lies under another very great disadvantage. For with all the accomplishments above mentioned, adding that of a most comely and graceful person, and during the prime of youth, spirits, and vigour, he hath in a most unexemplary manner led a regular domestic life; discovers a great esteem, and friendship,

ship, and love for his lady, as well as true affection for his children : and when he is disposed to admit an entertaining evening companion, he doth not always enough reflect, whether the person may possibly in former days have lain under the imputation of a *tory* ; nor at such times do the natural or *affected* fears of *popery* and the *pretender* make any part of the conversation : I presume, because neither Homer, Plato, Aristotle, or Cicero, have made any mention of them.

These I freely acknowledge to be his excellency's failings : yet, I think it is agreed by philosophers and divines, that some allowance ought to be given to human infirmity, and to the prejudices of a wrong education.

I am well aware, how much my sentiments differ from the *orthodox* opinions of one or two principal patriots, at the head of whom I name with honour Pistorides. For these have decided the matter directly against me, by declaring, that no person, who was ever known to lie under the suspicion of one single *tory* principle, or who had been once seen at a great man's levee in the *worst of times* *, should be allowed to come within the verge of the castle ; much less to bow in the anti-chamber, appear at the *assemblies*, or dance at a birth-night. However, I dare assert, that this maxim hath been often controlled ; and that, on the contrary, a considerable number of *early penitents* have been received into grace, who are
now

* The three last years of queen Anne, when Lord Oxford was minister, were so called by the whigs. *Hawkes*.

now an *ornament, happiness, and support* to the nation.

Neither do I find any murmuring on some other points of greater importance, where this favourite maxim is not so strictly observed.

To instance only in one. I have not heard, that any care hath hitherto been taken to discover whether madam * *Violante* be a *whig* or *tory* in her principles; or even that she hath ever been *offered the oaths to the government*: on the contrary, I am told, that she openly professeth herself to be a *high-flyer*; and it is not improbable, by her outlandish name, she may also be a *papist* in her heart; yet we see this illustrious and dangerous female openly caressed by principal persons of both parties; who contribute to support her in a splendid manner, without the least apprehensions from a *grand-jury*, or even from 'quire Hartly Hutcheson himself, that *zealous prosecutor of hawkers and libels*. And, as Hobbes wisely observes, *so much money* being equivalent to *so much power*, it may deserve considering, with what safety such an instrument of *power* ought to be trusted in the hands of an *alien*, who hath not given any legal security for her good affection to the government.

I confess, there is one evil which I could wish our friends would think proper to redress. There are many *whigs* in this kingdom, of the *old-fashioned stamp*, of whom we might make very good use; they bear the same loyalty with us to the Hanoverian

* A famous Italian rope-dancer. *Hawkes*.

verian family in the person of king George II.; the same abhorrence of the *pretender*, with the consequences of *popery* and *slavery*, and the same indulgence to *tender consciences*: but, having nothing to ask for themselves, and, therefore, the more leisure to think for the public, they are often apt to entertain fears, and melancholy prospects concerning the state of their country, the decay of trade, the want of money, the miserable condition of the people, with other topics of the like nature; all which do equally concern both *whig* and *tory*; who, if they have any thing to lose, must be equally sufferers. Perhaps, one or two of these melancholy gentlemen will sometimes venture to publish their thoughts in print: now I can by no means approve our usual custom of cursing and railing at this species of thinkers, under the names of *tories*, *jacobites*, *libellers*, *rebels*, and the like.

This was the utter ruin of that poor, angry, bustling, well-meaning mortal Pistorides; who lies equally under the contempt of both parties; with no other difference, than a mixture of *pity* on one side, and of *aversion* on the other.

How hath he been pelted, pestered and pounded by one single wag, who promiseth never to forsake him, living or dead?

I was much pleased with the humour of a *surgeon* in this town; who having, in his own apprehension, received some great injustice from the Earl of Galway, and despairing of revenge as well as relief, declared to all his friends, that he had set

set apart one hundred guineas, to purchase the Earl's carcase from the sexton, whenever *it* should die, to make a skeleton of the bones, stuff the hide, and shew them for three pence; and thus get vengeance for the injuries he had suffered by its owner.

Of the like spirit too often is that implacable race of wits, against whom there is no defence but innocence and philosophy; neither of which is likely to be at hand; and, therefore, the wounded have no where to fly for a cure, but to downright stupidity, a crazed head, or a profligate contempt of guilt and shame.

I am, therefore, sorry for that other miserable creature Traulus: who, although of somewhat a different species, yet seems very far to out-do even the genius of Pistorides, in that miscarrying talent of railing without consistency or discretion against the most innocent persons, according to the present situation of his gall and spleen. I do not blame an *honest* gentleman for the bitterest invectives against one, to whom he professeth the greatest friendship; provided he acts in the dark, so as not to be discovered: but, in the midst of *caresses, visits, and invitations*, to run into the streets, or to as *public a place*, and, without the least pretended incitement, sputter out the basest and falsest accusations; then to wipe his mouth, come up smiling to his friend, shake him by the hand, and tell him in a whisper, it was *all for his service*: this proceeding I am bold to think a great failure in prudence: and I am afraid lest
such

such a practitioner, with a body so *open*, so *foul*, and so *full of sores*, may fall under the resentment of an incensed political *surgeon*, who is not in much renown for his mercy upon great provocation; who, without waiting for his death, will *flay* and *dissect* him alive; and, to the view of mankind, lay open all the disordered cells of his brain, the venom of his tongue, the corruption of his heart, and spots and flatus's of his spleen: and all this for *three-pence*.

In such a case, what a scene would be laid open! and, to drop my metaphor, what a character of our mistaken friend might an angry enemy draw and expose! particularising that unnatural conjunction of vices and follies, so inconsistent with each other in the same breast: furious and fawning, scurrilous and flattering, cowardly and provoking, insolent and abject; most profligately false, with the strongest professions of sincerity; positive and variable, tyrannical and slavish.

I apprehend, that if all this should be set out to the world by an angry whig of the *old* stamp, the unavoidable consequence must be, a confinement of our *friend*, for some months *more*, to his garret; and thereby depriving the public, for so long time, and in so *important a juncture*, of his useful talents in their service, while he is fed like a wild beast through a hole; but I hope with a special regard to the *quantity* and *quality* of his nourishment.

In vain would his excusers endeavour to palliate his enormities, by imputing them to madness; because

because it is well known, that madness only operates by inflaming and enlarging the good or evil dispositions of the mind. For the *curators* of Bedlam assure us, that some lunatics are persons of *honour, truth, benevolence*, and many other virtues, which appear in their highest ravings, although after a wild incoherent manner; while others, on the contrary, discover, in every word and action, the utmost *baseness* and depravity of human minds; which infallibly they possessed in the same degree, although perhaps under a better regulation, before their entrance into that *academy*.

But it may be objected, that there is an argument of much force to excuse the overflowings of that zeal, which our *friend* shews or means for our cause. And it must be confessed, that the *easy and smooth fluency of his elocution, bestowed on him by nature, and cultivated by continual practice*, added to the *comeliness of his person, the harmony of his voice, the gracefulness of his manner, and the decency of his dress*, are temptations too strong for such a genius to resist upon any public occasion of making them appear with *universal applause*. And if good men are sometimes accused of loving their *jest* better than their *friend*; surely, to gain the reputation of the first *orator* in the kingdom, no man of spirit would scruple to lose all the *friends* he had in the world.

It is usual for masters to make their boys de-
claim on both sides of an argument; and, as
some kinds of assemblies are called *the schools of
politics*, I confess nothing can better improve po-
litical

litical school-boys, than the art of making plausible or implausible harangues against the very opinion for which they resolve to determine.

So cardinal Perron, after having spoke for an hour, to the admiration of all his hearers, to prove the existence of God, told some of his intimates, that he could have spoken another hour, and much better, to prove the contrary.

I have placed this reasoning in the strongest light that I think it will bear; and have nothing to answer, but that, allowing it as much weight as the reader shall please, it hath constantly met with ill success in the mouth of our friend; but whether for want of good luck, or good management, I suspend my judgment.

To return from this long digression: If persons in high stations have *been allowed* to choose *wench*es without regard to difference in religion, yet never incurred the least reflection on their loyalty, or their protestantism; shall the chief governor of a great kingdom be censured for choosing a *companion*, who may formerly have been suspected for differing from the *orthodox* in some speculative opinions of persons and things, which cannot affect the fundamental principles of a sound *whig*?

But let me suppose a very possible case. Here is a person sent to govern Ireland, whose unfortunate weak side it happens to be, for several reasons above mentioned, that he hath encouraged *one or two* gentlemen distinguished for their taste, their wit, and their learning; who have taken the oaths to his majesty, and pray heartily for

him; yet because they may perhaps be stigmatized as *quondam* Tories, by Pistorides and his gang, his excellency must be forced to banish them, under the pain and peril of displeasing the zealots of his own party; and thereby be put into a worse condition than every common good fellow, who may be a sincere *protestant* and a loyal subject, and yet rather choose to drink fine ale at the *pope's* head, than muddy at the *king's*.

Let me then return to my suppositions. It is certain, the high-flown loyalists, in the *present* sense of the word, have their thoughts, and studies, and tongues, so entirely diverted by political schemes, that the *zeal* of their *principles* hath *eaten* up their *understandings*; neither have they time from their employments, their hopes, and their hourly labours for acquiring new additions of merit, to amuse themselves with philological converse or speculations, which are utterly ruinous to all schemes of rising in the world. What then must a great man do, whose ill stars have fatally perverted him to a love and taste, and possession of literature, politeness, and good sense? our thorough-sped republic of whigs, which contains the bulk of all *hoppers*, *pretenders*, *expecters*, and *professors*, are, beyond all doubt, most *highly useful* to princes, to governors, to great ministers, and to their country; but at the same time, and by necessary consequence, the most disagreeable companions to all, who have that unfortunate turn of mind peculiar to his excellency, and perhaps to five or six more in a nation.

I do

I do not deny it possible, that an original or profelyte favourite of the times might have been born to those useless talents, which, in former ages, qualified a man to be a poet, or a philosopher. All I contend for is, that where the true genius of party once enters, *it sweeps the house clean*, and leaves room for many *other spirits* to take joint possession, until the *last state of that man is exceedingly better than the first*.

I allow it a great error in his excellency, that he adheres so obstinately to his old *unfashionable* academic education; yet so perverse is human nature, that the usual remedies for this evil in others, have produced a contrary effect in him; to a degree, that I am credibly informed, he will, as I have already hinted, in the middle of a session, quote passages out of Plato and Pindar at his own table, to some *book-learned* companion, without blushing, even when persons of *great stations* are by.

I will venture one step further; which is, freely to confess, that this mistaken method of educating youth in the knowledge of ancient learning and language, is too apt to spoil their *politics* and *principles*; because the doctrine and examples of the books they read, teach them lessons *directly contrary, in every point, to the present practice* of the world: and accordingly Hobbes most judiciously observes, that the writings of the Greeks and Romans, made young men imbibe opinions against absolute power in a prince, or even in a

minister; and to embrace notions of liberty and property.

It hath been therefore a great felicity in these kingdoms, that the heirs to titles and large estates have a weakness in their eyes, a tenderness in their constitutions; are not able to bear the pain and indignity of whipping; and, as the mother rightly expresses it, could never *take to their books*; yet are well enough qualified to sign a receipt for half a year's rent, to put their names (*rightly spelt*) to a warrant, and to read pamphlets against *religion* and *high-flying*; whereby they fill their niches, and carry themselves through the world with that dignity, which best becomes a *senator* and a *'squire*.

I could heartily wish his excellency would be more condescending to the *genius* of the kingdom he governs; to the condition of the times, and to the nature of the station he fills. Yet if it be true, what I have read in old English story-books, that one Agefilaus (no matter to the bulk of my readers whether I spell the name right or wrong) was caught by the *parson of the parish* riding on a hobby-horse with his children; that Socrates, a heathen philosopher, was found dancing by himself at fourscore; that a king called Cæsar Augustus (or some such name) used to play with boys, whereof some might possibly be sons of *tories*; and that two great men called Scipio and Lelius, (I forget their *christian* names, and whether they were poets or generals) often played at *duck* and *drake* with smooth stones on a river.

Now,

Now, I say, if these facts be true, (and the book where I found them is in print) I cannot imagine, why our most zealous patriots may not a little indulge his excellency in an infirmity, which is not morally evil; provided he gives no public scandal; which is by all means to be avoided: I say, why he may not be indulged twice a week, to converse with one or two particular persons; and let him and them conn over their old *exploded* readings together, after mornings spent in hearing and prescribing *ways and means* from and to his *most obedient* politicians for the welfare of the kingdom; although the said particular person or persons may not have made so public a declaration of their political faith, in all its parts, as the business of the nation requires: still submitting my opinion to that *happy majority*, which I am confident is *always in the right*; by whom the *liberty* of the subject hath been so frequently, so strenuously, and so successfully asserted; who, by their wise counsels, have made *commerce* to flourish, *money* to abound, inhabitants to encrease, the value of lands and rents to rise; and the whole island put on a new face of *plenty* and *prosperity*.

But, in order to clear his excellency more fully from this accusation of shewing his favours to *high-flyers*, *tories* and *jacobites*, it will be necessary to come to particulars.

The first person of a *tory* denomination, to whom his excellency gave any marks of his favour, was doctor Thomas Sheridan. It is to be

observed, that this happened so early in his excellency's government, as it may be justly supposed he had not been informed of that gentleman's character upon so *dangerous* an article. The doctor being well known, and distinguished for his skill and success in the education of youth, beyond most of his profession for many years past, was recommended to his excellency on the score of his learning, and particularly, for his knowledge in the Greek tongue; whereof, it seems, his excellency is a great admirer, although for what reasons, I could never imagine. However, it is agreed on all hands, that his lordship was too easily prevailed on by the doctor's request, or, indeed, rather from the bias of his own nature, to hear a tragedy acted in that *unknown* language by the doctor's lads, which was written by some heathen author; but, whether it contained any *tory* or *high-church* principles, must be left to the consciences of the *boys*, and the *doctor*, and his *excellency*; the *only* witnesses, in this case, whose testimonies can be depended upon.

It seems, his excellency (a thing never to be sufficiently wondered at) was so pleased with his entertainment, that, some time after, he gave the doctor a church-living, to the value of almost one hundred pounds a year, and made him one of his chaplains; from an *antiquated* notion, that good schoolmasters ought to be encouraged in every nation professing civility and religion. Yet, his excellency did not venture to make this bold step without strong recommendations from persons

sons of undoubted principles *fitted to the times*; who thought themselves bound, in justice, honour, and gratitude, to do the doctor a good office, in return for the care he had taken of their children, or of those of their friends. Yet the catastrophe was terrible; for the doctor, in the height of his felicity and gratitude, going down to take possession of his parish, and furnished with a few led sermons, whereof, as it is to be supposed, the number was very small, having never served a cure in the church; he stopped at Corke to attend on his bishop; and, going to church on the *Sunday* following, was, according to the usual civility of country clergymen, invited by the minister of the parish to supply the pulpit. It *happened* to be the first of August; and the first of August *happened*, that year, to light upon a *Sunday*: and it *happened*, that the doctor's text was in these words; *Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof**: and lastly, it *happened*, that some one person of the congregation, whose loyalty made him watchful, upon every appearance of danger to his majesty's person and government, when service was over, gave the alarm. Notice was immediately sent up to town; and, by the zeal of one man, *of no large dimensions of body or mind*, such a clamour was raised, that we in Dublin could apprehend no less than an invasion by the *pretender*, who must be landed in the *south*. The result was, that the doctor must be struck out of the

* The first of August is the anniversary of the Hanoverian family's accession to the crown of Great Britain. *Hawkes*.

the chaplains list, and appear no more at the castle; yet, whether he were then, or be at this day, a *whig* or a *tory*, I think is a secret; only it is manifest, that he is a zealous Hanoverian, at least in poetry, and a great admirer of the present royal family, through all its branches. His friends likewise assert, that he had preached this sermon often under the same text; that, not having observed the words till he was in the pulpit, and had opened his notes, as he is a person a little abstracted, he wanted presence of mind to change them: and that, in the whole sermon, there was not a syllable relating to government or party, or to the subject of the day.

In this incident, there seems to have been an union of events, that will probably never happen again to the end of the world; or is, at least, like the grand conjunction in the heavens; which, I think, they say can arrive but once in twenty thousand years.

The second gentleman (if I am right in my chronology) who, under the suspicion of a *tory*, received some favour from his excellency, is Mr. James Stopford; very strongly recommended by the most eminent *whig* in England, on the account of his learning, and virtue, and other accomplishments. He had passed the greatest part of his youth in close study, or in travelling; and was either not at home, or not at leisure to trouble his thoughts about party; which I allow to be a great omission, although I cannot honestly place him in the list of *tories*: and therefore, think

think his excellency may be fairly acquitted for making him vicar of Finglas, worth about one hundred pounds a year.

The third is doctor Patrick Delany. This divine lies under some disadvantage; having, in his youth, received many civilities from a certain person*, then in a very high station here; for which reason, I doubt the doctor never drank his confusion since; and, what makes the matter desperaté, it is now too late; unless our *inquisitors* will be content with drinking *confusion* to his *memory*. The aforesaid eminent person, who was a judge of all merit, except that of *party*, distinguished the doctor among other juniors in our university, for his learning, virtue, discretion, and good sense. But the doctor was then in too good a situation at his college, to hope or endeavour at a better establishment from one, who had no power to give it him.

Upon the present Lord Lieutenant's coming over, the doctor was named to his excellency by a *friend*†, among other clergy of distinction, as persons whose characters it was proper his excellency should know; and by the truth of which, the *giver* would be content to stand or fall in his excellency's opinion; since not one of those persons were in particular friendship with the *gentleman* who gave in their names. By this, and some other incidents, particularly the recommendation
of

* Sir Constantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, when Queen Anne died.

† The author.

of the late archbishop of Dublin, the doctor became known to his excellency, whose fatal turn of mind towards *heathenish* and *outlandish* books and languages, finding, as I conceive, a like disposition in the doctor, was the cause of his becoming so domestic, as we are told he is, at the castle of Dublin.

Three or four years ago, the doctor, grown weary of an academic life, for some reasons best known to the managers of the discipline in that learned society, (which it may not be for their honour to mention) resolved to leave it; although, by the benefit of the pupils, and his senior fellowship, with all its perquisites, he received every year between nine hundred and a thousand pounds. And a small northern living, in the university's donation, of somewhat better than one hundred pounds a year, falling at the same time with the chancellorship of Christ-church, to about equal the value, in the gift of his excellency; the doctor ventured into the world in a very scanty condition; having squandered away all his annual income in a manner, which, although perhaps proper enough for a clergyman without a family, will not be for the advantage of his character to discover either on the exchange, or at a banker's shop.

About two months ago, his excellency gave the doctor a prebend in St. Patrick's cathedral; which being of near the same value with either of the two former, will add a third part to his revenues, after he shall have paid the great incumbences

brances upon it ; so that he may now be said to possess of church-preferments, in scattered tithes, three hundred pounds a year ; instead of the like sum of infallible rents from a senior fellowship, with the offices annexed ; beside the advantage of a free lodging, a great number of pupils, and some other easements.

But, since the doctor hath not, in any of his writings, his sermons, his actions, his discourse, or his company, discovered one single principle of either *whig* or *tory* ; and that the Lord Lieutenant still continues to admit him ; I shall boldly pronounce him ONE OF US : but, like a new *free-mason*, who hath not yet learned all the dialect of the mystery. Neither can he justly be accused of any *tory* doctrines ; except perhaps some among those few, with which that *wicked party* was charged during the height of their power, but have been since transferred, for the most *solid reasons*, to the *whole body* of our firmest friends.

I have now done with the clergy : and, upon the strictest examination, have not been able to find above one of that order, against whom any *party* suspicion can ly ; I mean the unfortunate gentleman doctor Sheridan, who, by mere chance-medley, shot his own fortune dead with a single *text*.

As to the laity, I can hear of but one person of the *tory* stamp, who, since the beginning of his excellency's government, did ever receive any solid mark of his favour ; I mean Sir Arthur Acheson, reported to be an acknowledged *tory* ; and, what

what is almost as bad, a *scholar* into the bargain. It is whispered about, as a certain truth, that this gentleman is to have a grant of a certain barrack* upon his estate within two miles of his own house; for which the crown is to be his tenant, at the rent of sixty pounds *per annum*; he being only at the expence of about *five hundred* pounds to put the house in repair, build stables, and other necessaries. I will place this *invidious* mark of beneficence conferred on a *tory* in a fair light, by computing the costs and necessary defalcations: after which, it may be seen how much Sir Arthur will be annually a clear gainer by the public; notwithstanding his *unfortunate* principles, and his knowledge in Greek and Latin.

For repairs, &c. 500l. the interest	}	30	0	0
whereof <i>per annum</i> - - -				
For all manner of poultry to furnish	}	5	0	0
the troopers, but which the said				
troopers must be at the labour of				
catching, valued, <i>per annum</i>				
For straggling sheep - - -		8	0	0
For game destroyed five miles round -		6	0	0
		49	0	0
Rent paid to Sir Arthur - - -		60	0	0
Deduct - - - -		49	0	0
Remains clear - - - -		11	0	0

Thus,

* See a poem upon this incident, entitled, *The grand question debated*, &c. Vol. IX.

Thus, if Sir Arthur Acheson shall have the good fortune to obtain a grant of this barrack, he will receive *net* profit annually from the crown ELEVEN pounds *Sterling*, to help him in entertaining the officers, and making provisions for his younger children.

It is true, there is another advantage to be expected, which may fully compensate the loss of cattle and poultry; by multiplying the breed of mankind, and particularly that of *good protestants*, in a part of the kingdom half depopulated by the wild humour among the farmers there, of leaving their country. But I am not so skilful in arithmetic, as to compute the value.

I have reckoned one *per cent.* below the legal interest for the money that Sir Arthur must expend; and valued the damage in the other articles very moderately. However, I am confident he may, with good management, be a *saver* at least; which is a *prodigious instance of moderation* in our friends towards a professed *tory*; whatever merit he may pretend, by the unwillingness he hath shewn to make his excellency uneasy in his administration.

Thus I have, with the utmost impartiality, collected every single favour (further than personal civilities) conferred by his excellency on *tories*, and reputed *tories*, since his first arrival hither to this 30th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1730, giving all allowance possible to the arguments on the other side of the question; and the accompt will stand thus:

Disposed of preferments and employments to *tories*, or reputed *tories*, by his excellency John Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in about the space of six years :

To doctor Thomas Sheridan, in a } rectory near Kinsale, <i>per ann.</i>	100 0 0
To Sir Arthur Acheson, Baronet, } a barrack, <i>per ann.</i>	11 0 0

111 0 0

Give me leave now to compute in gross the value of the favours done by his excellency to the *true friends* of their king and country, and of the *protestant religion*.

It is to be remembered, that, although his excellency cannot be properly said to bestow bishoprics, commands in the army, the place of a judge, or commissioner in the revenue, and some others ; yet they are for the most part disposed upon his recommendation, except where the persons are immediately sent from England by their interest at court ; for which I have allowed great defalcations in the following accounts. And it is remarkable, that the *only* considerable station conferred on a *tory* since his present excellency's government, was of this *latter* kind.

And indeed it is but too notorious, that in a neighbouring nation (where this dangerous denomination of men is incomparably more numerous,

rous, more powerful, and of consequence more formidable) *real tories* can often, with much less difficulty, obtain very high favours from the government, than their *reputed* brethren can arrive to the lowest in ours. I observe this with all possible submission to the wisdom of their policy; which however will not, I believe, dispute the praise of vigilance with ours.

WHIG account.

To persons promoted to bishoprics, or removed to more beneficial ones, computed <i>per ann.</i>	}	10,050 0 0
To civil employments - - -		
To military commands - - -		9030 0 0
		8436 0 0
		27,516 0 0

TORY account.

To <i>tories</i> - - - -	111 0 0
Balance - - - -	27,405 0 0

I shall conclude with this observation, that as I think the *tories* have sufficient reason to be *fully satisfied* with the share of *trust, power, and employments*, which they possess under the *lenity* of the present government; so, I do not find how his excellency can be justly censured for favouring none but *high-church, high-flyers, termagants, Laudists, Sacheverelians, tip-top-gallant-men, jacobites, tantivys, anti-hanoverians, friends to popery*

and the pretender and to arbitrary power, disobligers of England, breakers of DEPENDENCY, inflammers of quarrels between the two nations, public incendiaries, enemies to the king and kingdoms, haters of TRUE protestants, laurel men, Annists, complainers of the nation's poverty, Ormondians, iconoclasts, anti-glorious-memorists, anti-revolutioners, white-rosalists, tenth-a-junians, and the like; when, by a fair state of the account, the balance, I conceive, seems to lie on the other side.

Const.

CONSIDERATIONS upon two BILLS sent down from the right honourable the house of LORDS to the honourable the house of COMMONS in IRELAND, relating to the CLERGY *.

Written in the year 1731.

I HAVE often, for above a month past, desired some few clergymen, who are pleased to visit me, that they would procure an extract of two BILLS brought into the council by some of the bishops, and both of them since passed in the *house of lords* : but I could never obtain what I desired, whether by the forgetfulness or negligence of those whom I employed, or the difficulty of the thing itself. Therefore, if I shall happen to mistake in any fact of consequence, I desire my remarks upon it may pass for nothing ; for my information is no better, than what I received in words from several divines, who seemed to agree with each other. I have not the honour to

O 3 be

* In the year 1731, a bill was brought into the house of lords, by a great majority of the right reverend the bishops, for enabling them to divide the livings of the inferior clergy ; which bill was approved of in the privy council of Ireland, and passed by the lords in parliament. It was afterwards sent to the house of commons for their approbation ; but was rejected by them with a great majority. The author of the following considerations, who hath always been the best friend to the inferior clergy of the church of England, as may be seen by many parts of his writings, opposed this pernicious project with great success ; which, if it had passed into a law, would have been of the worst consequence to this nation.

be acquainted with any one single *prelate* of the kingdom ; and am a stranger to their *characters*, further than as common fame reports them, which is not to be depended on : therefore I cannot be supposed to act upon a principle of resentment. I esteem their functions (if I may be allowed to say so without offence) as truly *apostolical*, and absolutely necessary to the perfection of a *christian church*.

There are no qualities more incident to the frailty and corruptions of human kind, than an indifference or insensibility for other mens sufferings, and a sudden forgetfulness of their own former humble state, when they rise in the world. These two dispositions have not, I think, any where so strongly exerted themselves, as in the order of bishops with regard to the inferior clergy ; for which I can find no reasons, but such as naturally should seem to operate a quite contrary way. The maintenance of the clergy throughout the kingdom is precarious and uncertain, collected from a most miserable race of beggarly farmers ; at whose mercy every *minister* lies to be defrauded. His office as *rector* or *vicar*, if it be duly executed, is very laborious. As soon as he is promoted to a *bishopric*, the scene is entirely and happily changed ; his revenues are large, and as surely paid as those of the *king* ; his whole business is once a-year to receive the attendance, the submission, and the proxy-money of all his clergy, in whatever part of the diocese he shall please to think most convenient for himself.

Neither

Neither is his personal presence necessary; for the business may be done by a *vicar general*. The fatigue of ordination is just what the bishops please to make it; and as matters have been for some time, and may probably remain, the fewer ordinations the better. The rest of their visible office consists in the honour of attending parliaments and councils, and bestowing preferments in their own gift; in which last employment, and in their spiritual and temporal courts, the labour falls to their *vicars-general*, *secretaries*, *proctors*, *apparitors*, *seneschals*, and the like. Now, I say, in so quick a change, whereby their brethren in a few days are become their subjects, it would be reasonable at least to hope that the labour, confinement, and subjection, from which they have so lately escaped, *like a bird out of the snare of the fowler*, might a little incline them to remember the condition of those who were but last week their equals, probably their companions or their friends, and possibly as reasonable expectants. There is a known story of colonel Tidcomb, who, while he continued a subaltern officer, was every day complaining against the pride, oppression, and hard treatment of *colonels* towards their *officers*; yet in a very few minutes after he had received his commission for a regiment, walking with a friend on the *Mall*, he confessed that the spirit of colonelship was coming fast upon him, which spirit is said to have daily increased to the hour of his death.

It is true, the clergy of this kingdom, who
are

are promoted to *bishoprics*, have always some great advantages; either that of rich deaneries, opulent and multiplied rectories and dignities, strong alliances by birth or marriage, fortified by a superlative degree of zeal and loyalty: but however, they were all at first no more than young beginners; and before their great promotion, were known by their plain *christian* names among their old companions, the middling rate of *clergymen*; nor could therefore be strangers to their condition, or with any good grace forget it so soon, as it hath too often happened.

I confess, I do not remember to have observed any body of men acting with so little concert, as our *clergy* have done in a point, where their opinions appeared to be unanimous: a point wherein their whole temporal support was concerned, as well as their power of serving God and his church in their spiritual functions. This hath been imputed to their fear of disobliging, or hopes of further favours upon compliance; because it was observed, that some who appeared at first with the greatest zeal, thought fit suddenly to absent themselves from the usual meetings: yet we know, what expert *solicitors* the *quakers*, the *dissenters*, and even the *papists* have sometimes found to drive a point of advantage, or prevent an impending evil.

I have not seen any extract from the two bills introduced by the bishops into the privy council; where the clergy, upon some failure in favour, or through the timorousness of many among their
brethren,

brethren, were refused to be heard by the council. It seems, these bills were both returned, agreed to by the king and council in England, and the *house of lords* hath with great expedition passed them both; and it is said, they are immediately to be sent down to the *commons* for their consent.

The particulars, as they have been imperfectly reported to me, are as follow:

By one of the bills, the bishops have power to oblige the country clergy to build a mansion-house upon whatever part of their glebes their lordships shall command; and if the living be above 50 l. a year, the minister is bound to build, after three years, a house that shall cost one year and a half's rent of his income. For instance, if a clergyman with a wife and seven children gets a living of 55 l. *per annum*, he must after three years build a house that shall cost 77 l. 10 s. and must support his family, during the time the bishop shall appoint for the building of it, with the remainder. But if the living be under 50 l. a year, the minister shall be allowed 100 l. out of the first fruits.

But there is said to be one circumstance a little extraordinary; that if there be a single spot in the glebe more barren, more marshy, more exposed to the winds, more distant from the church, or skeleton of a church, or from any conveniency of building; the rector or vicar may be obliged, by the caprice, or pique of the bishop, to build, under pain of sequestration (an office, which
ever

ever falls into the most knavish hands) upon whatever part his *lordship* shall command; although the farmers have not paid one quarter of his dues.

I believe, under the present distresses of the kingdom (which inevitably without a miracle must increase for ever) there are not ten country clergymen in Ireland, reputed to possess a parish of 100 l. *per annum*, who for some years past have actually received 60 l. and that with the utmost difficulty and vexation. I am therefore at a loss, what kind of valuers the *bishops* will make use of; and whether the starving *vicar* shall be forced to build his house with the money he never received.

The other bill, which passed in two days after the former, is said to concern the division of parishes into as many parcels as the *bishop* shall think fit, only leaving 300 l. a year to the *mother church*; which 300 l. by another *act* passed some years ago, they can divide likewise, and crumble as low as their will and pleasure will dispose them. So that, instead of six hundred clergymen, which, I think, is the usual computation, we may have in a small compass of years almost as many thousands to live with decency and comfort, provide for their children, be charitable to the poor, and maintain hospitality.

But it is very reasonable to hope, and heartily to be wished by all those, who have the least regard to our holy religion as hitherto established, or to a learned, pious, diligent conversable *clergyman*,

gyman, or even to common humanity, that the *honourable house of commons* will, in their great wisdom, justice and tenderness to innocent men, consider these bills in another light. It is said, they well know this kingdom not to be so overstocked with neighbouring gentry, but a discreet learned *clergyman*, with a competency fit for one of his education, may be an entertaining, a useful, and sometimes a necessary companion: That, although such a clergyman may not be able constantly to find *beef* and *wine* for his own family, yet he may be allowed sometimes to afford both to a neighbour without distressing himself; and the rather, because he may expect at least as good a return. It will probably be considered, that in many desolate parts, there may not be always a sufficient number of persons considerable enough to be trusted with *commissions of the peace*, which several of the *clergy* now supply much better, than a little, hedge, contemptible, illiterate *vicar* from twenty to fifty pounds a year, the son of a *weaver*, *pedlar*, *taylor*, or *miller*, can be presumed to do.

The landlords and farmers by this scheme can find no profit, but will certainly be losers. For instance, if the large northern livings be split into a dozen parishes or more, it will be very necessary for the little threadbare *gownman*, with his wife, his proctor, and every child who can crawl, to watch the fields at harvest time for fear of losing a single sheaf, which he could not afford under peril of a day's starving: for, according to the
Scotch

Scotch proverb, *a hungry louse bites sore*. This would of necessity breed an infinite number of wrangles and litigious suits in the spiritual courts; and put the wretched *pastor* at perpetual variance with his whole parish. But, as they have hitherto stood, a clergyman established in a competent living, is not under the necessity of being so sharp, vigilant, and exacting. On the contrary, it is well known and allowed, that the clergy round the kingdom think themselves well treated, if they lose only one single third of their legal demands.

The honourable house may perhaps be inclined to conceive, that my *lords* the *bishops* enjoy as ample a power both spiritual and temporal, as will fully suffice to answer every branch of their office: that they want no laws to regulate the conduct of those clergymen, over whom they preside: that, if non-residence be a grievance, it is the patron's fault, who makes not a better choice, or caused the plurality: that, if the general, impartial character of persons chosen into the church had been more regarded, and the motive of *party, alliance, kindred, flatterers, ill judgement, or personal favour* regarded less, there would be fewer complaints of non-residence, want of care, blameable behaviour, or any other part of misconduct; not to mention *ignorance and stupidity*.

I could name certain gentlemen of the *gown*, whose awkward, spruce, prim, sneering, and smirking countenances, the very tone of their voices,

voices, and ungainly strut in their walk, without one single talent for any one office, have contrived to get good preferment by the mere force of flattery and cringing: for which two virtues (the only two virtues they pretend to) they were, however, utterly unqualified: and whom, if I were in power, although they were my nephews, or had married my nieces, I could never, in point of good conscience or honour, have recommended to a curacy in Connaught.

The honourable house of commons may likewise perhaps consider, that the gentry of this kingdom differ from all others upon earth, being less capable of employments in their own country, than any others who come from abroad; and, that most of them have little expectation of providing for their younger children otherwise than by the church, in which there might be some hopes of getting a tolerable maintenance. For after the patrons should have settled their sons, their nephews, their nieces, their dependents, and their followers invited over from the other side, there would still remain an overplus of smaller church preferments to be given to such clergy of the nation, who shall have their *quantum* of whatever merit may be then in fashion. But by these bills, they will be all as absolutely excluded, as if they had passed under the denomination of *tories*; unless they can be contented at the utmost with 50*l.* a year; which by the difficulties of collecting tythes in Ireland, and the daily increasing miseries of the people, will hardly rise to half that sum.

It is observed, that the *divines* sent over hither to govern this church, have not seemed to consider the difference between both kingdoms with respect to the inferior *clergy*. As to themselves indeed, they find a large revenue in lands let at one quarter value, which consequently must be paid while there is a penny left among us; and the public distress so little affects their interests, that their fines are now higher than ever: they content themselves to suppose, that whatever a parish is said to be worth, comes all into the *parson's* pocket.

The poverty of great numbers among the clergy of England, hath been the continual complaint of all men who wish well to the church, and many schemes have been thought on to redress it; yet an English *vicar* of 40 l. a year, lives much more comfortably than one of double the value in Ireland. His farmers, generally speaking, are able and willing to pay him his full dues: he hath a decent church of antient standing, filled every *Lord's day* with a large congregation of plain people, well clad, and behaving themselves as if they believed in GOD and CHRIST. He hath a house and barn in repair, a field or two to graze his cows, with a garden and orchard. No guest expects more from him than a pot of ale: he lives like an honest plain farmer, as his wife is dressed but little better than *goodly*. He is sometimes graciously invited by the 'quire, where he sits at an humble distance: if he gets the love of his people, they often make him little useful presents:

presents: he is happy by being born to no higher expectation; for he is usually the son of some ordinary tradesman, or middling farmer. His learning is much of a size with his birth and education; no more of either, than what a poor hungry *servitor* can be expected to bring with him from his *college*. It would be tedious to shew the reverse of all this in our distant poorer parishes through most parts of Ireland, wherein every reader may make the comparison.

Lastly, the *honourable house of commons* may consider, whether the scheme of multiplying beggarly *clergymen* through the whole kingdom, who must all have votes for choosing parliament men (provided they can prove their freeholds to be worth 40s. *per annum, ultra reprisas*) may not, by their numbers, have great influence upon *elections*; being entirely under the dependence of their *bishops*. For by a moderate computation, after all the divisions and subdivisions of parishes, that my *lords the bishops* have power to make by their new laws, there will, as soon as the present set of clergy goes off, be raised an army of *ecclesiastical militants*, able enough for any kind of service, except that of the altar.

I am indeed in some concern about a fund for building a thousand or two churches, wherein these probationers may read their *wall lectures*; and begin to doubt they must be contented with *barns*; which *barns* will be one great advancing step towards an accommodation with our *true protestant brethren, the dissenters*.

The scheme of encouraging *clergymen* to build houses, by dividing a living of 500 l. a year into ten parts, is a contrivance, the meaning whereof hath got on the wrong side of my comprehension; unless it may be argued, that *bishops* build no houses, because they are so rich; and therefore the inferior *clergy* will certainly build, if you reduce them to beggary. But I knew a very rich man of quality in England, who could never be persuaded to keep a *servant* out of *livery*; because such servants would be expensive, and apt in time to look like gentlemen; whereas the others were ready to submit to the basest offices, and at a cheaper pennyworth might increase his retinue.

I hear, it is the opinion of many wise men, that before these bills pass both houses, they should be sent back to England with the following clauses inserted.

First, that whereas there may be about a dozen double *bishopricks* in Ireland, those *bishopricks* should be split and given to different persons; and those of a single denomination be also divided into two, three, or four parts, as occasion shall require; otherwise there may be a question started, whether twenty two *prelates* can effectually extend their paternal care, and unlimited power, for the protection and correction of so great a number of spiritual *subjects*. But this proposal will meet with such furious objections, that I shall not insist upon it; for I well remember to have read, what a terrible fright the *frogs* were in, upon a report that the *sun* was going to marry.

Another

Another clause should be, that none of these twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty pounders may be suffered to marry under the penalty of immediate deprivation; their marriages declared *null*, and their children bastards: for some desponding people take the kingdom to be in no condition of encouraging so numerous a breed of beggars.

A third clause will be necessary, that these humble gentry should be absolutely disqualified from giving votes in *elections* for *parliament men*.

Others add a fourth; which is a clause of indulgence, that these reduced *divines* may be permitted to follow any lawful ways of living, which will not call them too often or too far from their spiritual offices: (for, unless I misapprehend, they are supposed to have *episcopal ordination*.) For example; they may be lappers of linen, bailiffs of the manor: they may let blood, or apply plasters for three miles round: they may get a dispensation to hold the *clerkship* and *sextonship* of their own parish *in commendam*. Their wives and daughters may make shirts for the neighbourhood; or, if a *barrack* be near, for the *soldiers*: in linen countries they may *card* and *spin*, and keep a few looms in the house: they may let lodgings, and sell a pot of ale without doors, but not at home, unless to sober company, and at regular hours. It is by some thought a little hard, that in an affair of the last consequence to the very being of the *clergy* in the points of liberty and property, as well as in their abilities to perform their duty, this whole reverend body, who are the established in-

structors of the nation in christianity and moral virtues, and are the only persons concerned, should be the sole persons not consulted. Let any scholar shew the like precedent in Christendom for twelve hundred years past. An act of parliament for settling or selling an estate in a private family is never passed, until all parties give consent. But in the present case, the whole body of the *clergy* is, as themselves apprehend, determined to utter ruin, without once expecting or asking their opinion; and this by a scheme contrived only by *one part* of the *convocation*, while the other part, which hath been chosen in the usual forms, wants only the regal permission to assemble, and consult about the affairs of the church, as their predecessors have always done in former ages: where it is presumed, the *lower house* hath a power of proposing canons and a negative voice, as well as the upper. And God forbid (say these objectors) that there should be a real separate interest between the bishops and clergy, any more than there is between a man and his wife, a king and his people, or CHRIST and his church.

It seems there is a provision in the bill, that no parish shall be cut into scraps without the consent of several persons, who can be no sufferers in the matter; but I cannot find that the *clergy* lay much weight on this caution; because they argue, that the very persons, from whom these bills took their rise, will have the greatest share in the decision.

I do not by any means conceive the crying sin of the *clergy* in this kingdom to be that of *non-residence*.

sidence. I am sure, it is many degrees less so here than in England; unless the possession of pluralities may pass under that name; and if this be a fault, it is well known to whom it must be imputed: I believe, upon a fair enquiry (and I hear an enquiry is to be made) they will appear to be most pardonably few; especially, considering how many parishes have not an inch of *glebe*, and how difficult it is upon any reasonable terms to find a place of habitation. And therefore, God knows whether my *lords the bishops* will be soon able to convince the *clergy*, or those who have any regard for that venerable body, that the chief motive in their *lordships* minds, by procuring these bills, was to prevent the sin of *non-residence*; while the universal opinion of almost every *clergyman* in the kingdom, without distinction of party, taking in even those who are not likely to be sufferers, stands directly against them.

If some livings in the *north* may be justly thought too large a compass of land, which makes it inconvenient for the remotest inhabitants to attend the service of the church, which in some instances may be true, no reasonable *clergyman* would oppose a proper remedy by particular acts of parliament.

Thus for instance, the *deanry* of Down, a country *deanry* I think without a cathedral, depending wholly upon an union of parishes joined together in a time when the land lay waste and thinly inhabited; since those circumstances are so prodigiously changed for the better, may properly be lessened,

lessened, leaving a decent competency to the *dean*, and placing *rectories* in the remaining churches, which are now served only by stipendiary *curates*.

The case may be probably the same in other parts: and such a proceeding discreetly managed, would be truly for the good of the church.

For it is to be observed, that the dean and chapter lands, which in England were all seized under the fanatic usurpation, are things unknown in Ireland, having been long ravished from the church by a succession of confusions, and tythes applied in their stead to support that ecclesiastical dignity.

The late * *archbishop of Dublin* had a very different way of encouraging the *clergy* of his diocese to residence: when a lease had run out seven years or more, he stipulated with the tenant to resign up twenty or thirty acres to the minister of the parish where it lay convenient, without lessening his former rent; and with no great abatement of the fine; and this he did in the parts near Dublin, where land is at the highest rates, leaving a small chiefry for the minister to pay, hardly a sixth part of the value. I doubt not, that almost every *bishop* in the kingdom may do the same generous act, with less damage to their fees, than his late *grace of Dublin*, much of whose lands were out in fee-farms, or leases for lives; and I am sorry that the good example of such a *prelate* hath not been followed.

But a great majority of the *clergy's* friends cannot

* The right reverend Dr. WILLIAM KING.

cannot hitherto reconcile themselves to this project; which they call a *levelling principle*, that must inevitably root out the seeds of all honest emulation, the legal parent of the greatest virtues and most generous actions among men; but which in the general opinion (for I do not pretend to offer my own) will never more have room to exert itself in the breast of any *clergyman*, whom this kingdom shall produce.

But, whether the consequences of these bills may, by the virtues and frailties of future *bishops* sent over hither to rule the church, terminate in good or evil, I shall not presume to determine, since God can work the *former* out of the *latter*. However, one thing I can venture to assert: That from the earliest ages of christianity to the minute I am now writing, there never was a precedent of such a proceeding, much less was it to be feared, hoped, or apprehended from such hands in any christian country; and so it may pass for more than a *phœnix*; because it hath risen without any assistance from the *ashes* of its *fire*.

The appearance of so many *dissenters* at the hearing of this cause, is what, I am told, hath not been charged to the account of their prudence or moderation; because that action hath been censured as a mark of *triumph* and insult before the *victory* is complete: since neither of these bills hath yet passed the *house of commons*, and some are pleased to think it not impossible that they may
be

be * rejected. Neither do I hear, that there is an enacting clause in either of the bills to apply any part of the divided or sub-divided tythes towards encreasing the stipends of the *sectaries*. So that these gentlemen seem to be gratified like him, who, after having been kicked down stairs, took comfort, when he saw his friend kicked down after him.

I have heard many more objections against several particulars of both these bills; but they are of so high a nature, and carry such dreadful *innuendoes*, that I dare not mention them, resolving to give no offence; because I well know how obnoxious I have long been (although I conceive without any fault of my own) to the zeal and principles of those, who place all difference in opinion concerning public matters to the score of *disaffection*; whereof I am at least as innocent as the loudest of my *detractors*.

Dublin, Feb. 24th,

1731-2.

A PRO-

* They were rejected in the *house of commons* by a great majority. *Hawkes*.

A P R O P O S A L

F O R

AN ACT of PARLIAMENT, to pay off the DEBT of the nation, without taxing the subject; by which the number of landed gentry will be considerably increased, and no person will be the poorer, or contribute one farthing to the charge. *

Written in the year 1732.

THE debts contracted some years past for the service and safety of the nation, are grown so great, that under our present distressed condition, by the want of trade, the great remittances to pay *absentees*, regiments serving abroad, and many other drains of money well enough known and felt, the kingdom seems altogether unable to discharge them by the common methods of payment: and either a *poll* or *land tax* would be too odious to think of, especially the latter; because the lands, which have been let for these ten or dozen years past, were raised so high, that the owner can at present hardly receive any rent at all. For it is the usual practice of an Irish tenant, rather than want land, to offer more for a farm than he knows he can be ever able to pay; and in that case he grows desperate, and pays nothing at all. So that a *land tax* upon

* The reader will perceive the following treatise to be altogether ironical.

on a racked estate would be a burthen wholly insupportable.

The question will then be, how these national debts can be paid; and how I can make good the several particulars of my proposal; which I shall now lay open to the public.

The revenues of their graces and lordships the archbishops and bishops of this kingdom (excluding the fines) do amount by a moderate computation to 36,800 l. *per ann.*; I mean the rents, which the bishops receive from their tenants. But the real value of those lands at a full rent, taking the several fees one with another, is reckoned to be at least three fourths more; so that, multiplying 36,800 l. by 4, the full rent of all the bishops lands will amount to 147,200 l. *per ann.*; from which subtracting the present rent received by their lordships, that is, 36,800 l. the profits of the lands received by the first and second tenants, (who both have great bargains) will rise to the sum of 110,400 l. *per ann.*; which lands, if they were to be sold at twenty two years purchase, would raise a sum of 2,428,800 l. reserving to the bishops their present rents, only excluding fines.

Of this sum, I propose, that out of the one half, which amounts to 1,214,400 l. so much be applied, as will intirely discharge the debts of the nation; and the remainder be laid up in the treasury to supply contingencies, as well as to discharge some of our heavy taxes, until the kingdom shall be in a better condition.

But,

But, whereas the present set of bishops would be great losers by this scheme, for want of their fines; which would be hard treatment to such *religious, loyal, and deserving* personages; I have therefore set apart the other half to supply that defect, which it will more than sufficiently do.

A bishop's lease for the full term is reckoned to be worth eleven years purchase; but if we take the bishops round, I suppose there may be four years of each lease elapsed; and many of the bishops being well stricken in years, I cannot think their lives round to be worth more than seven years purchase; so that the purchasers may very well afford fifteen years purchase for the reversion, especially by one great additional advantage, which I shall soon mention.

This sum of 2,428,800 l. must likewise be sunk very considerably; because the lands are to be sold only at fifteen years purchase, and this lessens the sum to about 1,656,000 l. of which I propose twelve hundred thousand pounds to be applied partly for the payment of the national debt, and partly as a fund for future exigencies; and the remaining 456,000 l. I propose as a fund for paying the present set of bishops their fines; which it will abundantly do, and a great part remain as an addition to the public stock.

Although the bishops round do not, in reality, receive three fines a-piece, which take up twenty-one years, yet I allow it to be so; but then I will suppose them to take but one year's rent, in recompence of giving them so large a term of

life; and thus, multiplying 36,800 by 3, the product will be only 110,400l. so that above three-fourths will remain to be applied to public use.

If I have made wrong computations, I hope to be excused as a stranger to the kingdom; which I never saw till I was called to an employment, and yet, where I intend to pass the rest of my days; but I took care to get the best informations I could, and from the most proper persons; however, the mistakes I may have been guilty of, will very little affect the main of my proposal; although they should cause a difference of one hundred thousand pounds more or less.

These fines are only to be paid to the bishop during his incumbency in the same see: if he change it for a better, the purchasers of the vacant see-lands are to come immediately into possession of the see he hath left; and both the bishop who is removed, and he who comes into his place, are to have no more fines; for the removed bishop will find his account by a larger revenue; and the other see will find candidates enough. For the law maxim will here have place: *caveat emptor*; I mean, the persons who succeed, may choose whether they will accept or no.

As to the purchasers, they will probably be tenants to the see, who are already in possession, and can afford to give more than any other bidder.

I will further explain myself. If a person already a bishop, be removed into a richer see, he must be content with the bare revenues, without any fines; and so must he who comes into a bishopric

shopric vacant by death : and this will bring the matter sooner to bear ; which, if the crown shall think fit to countenance, will soon change the present set of bishops ; and, consequently, encourage purchasers of their lands. For example ; if a primate should die, and the gradation be wisely made, almost the whole set of bishops might be changed in a month, each to his great advantage, although no fines were to be got ; and thereby save a great part of that sum, which I have appropriated towards supplying the deficiency of fines.

I have valued the bishops lands two years purchase above the usual computed rate, because those lands will have a sanction from the king and council in England, and be confirmed by an act of parliament here : besides, it is well known, that higher prices are given every day for worse lands, at the remotest distances, and at rack-rents, which I take to be occasioned by want of trade : when there are few borrowers, and the little money in private hands lying dead, there is no other way to dispose of it, but in buying of land ; which, consequently, makes the owners hold it so high.

Besides paying the nation's debts, the sale of these lands would have many other good effects upon the nation. It will considerably increase the number of gentry, where the bishops tenants are not able or willing to purchase ; for the lands will afford an hundred gentlemen a good revenue to each : several persons from England will probably be glad to come over hither, and be the buyers,

buyers, rather than give thirty years purchase at home, under the loads of taxes for the public and the poor, as well as repairs: by which means, much money may be brought among us; and, probably, some of the purchasers themselves may be content to live cheap in a worse country, rather than be at the charge of exchange and agencies; and perhaps of *non-solvencies* in absence, if they let their lands too high.

This proposal will also multiply farmers, when the purchasers will have lands in their own power to give long and easy leases to industrious husbandmen.

I have allowed some bishoprics, of equal income, to be of more or less value to the purchaser, according as they are circumstanced. For instance, the lands of the primacy, and some other sees, are let so low, that they hardly pay a fifth penny of the real value to the bishop, and there the fines are the greater. On the contrary, the sees of Meath and Clonsfert, consisting, as I am told, much of tithes, those tithes are annually let to the tenants without any fines. So the see of Dublin is said to have many fee-farms, which pay no fines; and some leases for lives, which pay very little, and not so soon, nor so duly.

I cannot but be confident, that their graces my lords the archbishops, and my lords the bishops, will heartily join in this proposal, out of gratitude to his late and present Majesty, the best of kings, who have bestowed on them such high and opulent stations; as well as in pity to this country,

country, which is now become their own; whereby they will be instrumental towards paying the nation's debts, without impoverishing themselves; enrich an hundred gentlemen, as well as free them from dependency; and thus remove that envy, which is apt to fall upon their graces and lordships from considerable persons, whose birth and fortunes rather qualify them to be lords of manors, than servile dependents upon churchmen, however dignified or distinguished.

If I do not flatter myself, there could not be any law more popular than this. For, the immediate tenants to bishops, being some of them persons of quality, and good estates, and more of them grown up to be gentlemen, by the profits of these very leases, under a succession of bishops, think it a disgrace to be subject both to rents and fines, at the pleasure of their landlords. Then, the bulk of the tenants, especially the *dissenters*, who are our *true loyal* protestant brethren, look upon it both as an unnatural and iniquitous thing, that bishops should be owners of land at all, (wherein I beg leave to differ from them) being a point so contrary to the practice of the apostles, whose successors they are deemed to be; and who, although they were contented that land should be sold for the common use of the brethren, yet would not buy it themselves; but had it laid at their feet, to be distributed to poor profelytes.

I will add one word more, that, by such a wholesome law, all the oppressions felt by under-

tenants of church leases, which are now laid on the bishops, would entirely be prevented, by their graces and lordships consenting to have their lands sold for payment of the nation's debts; reserving only the present rent for their own plentiful and honourable support.

I beg leave to add one particular: That, when heads of a bill (as I find the style runs in this kingdom) shall be brought in, for forming this proposal into a law, I should humbly offer, that there might be a power given to every bishop, except those who reside in Dublin, for applying one hundred acres of profitable land, that lies nearest his palace, as a demesne for the convenience of his family.

I know very well, that this scheme hath been much talked of for some time past, and is in the thoughts of many patriots: neither was it properly mine, although I fell readily into it, when it was first communicated to me.

Although I am almost a perfect stranger in this kingdom; yet, since I have accepted an employment here of some consequence, as well as profit, I cannot but think myself in duty bound to consult the interest of people, among whom I have been so well received. And, if I can be any way instrumental towards contributing to reduce this excellent proposal into a law, (which, being not in the least injurious to England, will, I am confident, meet with no opposition from that side) my sincere endeavours to serve this church and kingdom, will be well rewarded.

AN

[187] A
AN EXAMINATION

Certain ABUSES, CORRUPTIONS, and ENORMITIES, in the city of DUBLIN.

Written in the year 1732.

NOTHING is held more commendable in all great cities, especially the metropolis of a kingdom, than what the French call the *police*: by which word is meant the government thereof, to prevent the many disorders occasioned by great numbers of people and carriages, especially through narrow streets. In this government, our famous city of Dublin is said to be very defective, and universally complained of. Many wholesome laws have been enacted to correct those abuses, but are ill executed; and many more are wanting, which I hope the united wisdom of the nation (whereof so many good effects have already appeared this session) will soon take into their profound consideration.

As I have been always watchful over the good of mine own country, and particularly for that of our renowned city, where (*absit invidia*) I had the honour to draw my first breath; I cannot have a minute's ease or patience to forbear enumerating some of the greatest enormities, abuses, and corruptions spread almost through every part of Dublin; and proposing such remedies, as I hope the legislature will approve of.

The

The narrow compass, to which I have confined myself in this paper, will allow me only to touch the most important defects; and such as I think seem to require the most speedy redress.

And first: Perhaps there was never known a wiser institution, than that of allowing certain persons of both sexes in large and populous cities, to cry through the streets many necessaries of life: it would be endless to recount the conveniencies, which our city enjoys by this useful invention; and particularly strangers forced hither by business, who reside here but a short time: for these, having usually but little money, and being wholly ignorant of the town, might at an easy price purchase a tolerable dinner, if the several criers would pronounce the names of the goods they have to sell in any tolerable language. And therefore, until our law-makers shall think it proper to interpose so far, as to make those traders pronounce their words in such terms, that a plain christian hearer may comprehend what is cried, I would advise all new comers to look out at their garret windows, and there see whether the thing that is cried be *tripes*, or *flummery*, *butter-milk*, or *cow-beels*. For as things are now managed, how is it possible for an honest country man just arrived, to find out what is meant, for instance, by the following words, with which his ears are constantly stunned twice a day, *muggs*, *juggs*, and *porringers*, *up in the garret*, and *down in the cellar*; I say, how is it possible for any stranger to understand, that this jargon is meant as an invitation

tation to buy a farthing's worth of milk for his breakfast or supper, unless his curiosity draws him to the window, or until his landlady shall inform him? I produce this only as one instance among a hundred much worse, I mean, where the words make a sound wholly inarticulate, which give so much disturbance, and so little information.

The affirmation solemnly made in the cry of *herrings* is directly against all truth and probability; *herrings alive, alive here*; the very proverb will convince us of this; for what is more frequent in ordinary speech, than to say of some neighbour for whom the passing-bell rings, that *he is dead as a herring*. And pray how is it possible, that a *herring*, which, as *philosophers* observe, cannot live longer than one minute three seconds and a half out of water, should bear a voyage in open boats from Howth to Dublin, be tossed into twenty hands, and preserve its life in sieves for several hours? nay, we have witnesses ready to produce, that many thousands of these *herrings*, so impudently asserted to be alive, have been a day and a night upon dry land. But this is not the worst. What can we think of those impious wretches, who dare in the face of the sun vouch the very same affirmative of their *salmon*, and cry *salmon alive, alive*; whereas, if you call the woman who cries it, she is not ashamed to turn back her mantle, and shew you this individual *salmon* cut into a dozen pieces. I have given good advice to these infamous disgracers of their sex and calling, without the least appearance of remorse,

and

and fully against the conviction of their own consciences; I have mentioned this grievance to several of our parish ministers; but all in vain; so that it must continue, until the government shall think fit to interpose.

There is another *cry*, which from the strictest observation I can make, appears to be very modern, and it is that of * *sweet hearts*; and is plainly intended for a reflection upon the female sex; as if there were at present so great a dearth of lovers, that the women, instead of receiving presents from men, were now forced to offer money to purchase *sweet hearts*. Neither am I sure, that this *cry* doth not glance at some disaffection against the government; insinuating, that while so many of our troops are engaged in foreign service, and such a great number of our gallant officers constantly reside in England, the ladies are forced to take up with *parsons and attornies*; but this is a most unjust reflection, as may soon be proved by any person that frequents the *castle*, our public walks, our balls and assemblies; where the crowds of † *toupees* were never known to swarm as they do at present.

There is a *cry* peculiar to this city, which I do not remember to have been used in London; or at least, not in the same terms that it hath been practised by both parties, during each of their power, but very unjustly by the *tories*. While these

* A sort of sugar cakes in the shape of hearts.

† A new name of a modern periwig with a long black tail, and for its owner; now in fashion, Dec. I. 1733.

these were at the helm, they grew daily more and more impatient to put all true *whigs* and *Hanoverians* out of employments: to effect which, they hired certain ordinary fellows with large baskets on their shoulders to call aloud at every house, *dirt to carry out*; giving that denomination to our whole party; as if they would signify, that the kingdom could never be *cleansed*, until we were *swept* from the earth like *rubbish*. But since that happy turn of times, when we were so *miraculously* preserved by just an *inch* from *popery*, *slavery*, *mas-sacre*, and the *pretender*, I must own it is prudence in us still to go on with the same *cry*; which hath ever since been so effectually observed, that the true *political dirt* is wholly removed, and thrown on its proper dunghills, there to corrupt and be no more heard of.

But to proceed to other enormities: Every person, who walks the streets, must needs observe an immense number of human excrements at the doors and steps of waste houses, and at the sides of every dead wall; for which the disaffected party hath assigned a very false and malicious cause: they would have it, that these heaps were laid there privately by British *fundaments* to make the world believe, that our Irish vulgar do daily eat and drink; and consequently, that the clamour of poverty among us must be false, proceeding only from *Jacobites* and *papists*. They would confirm this by pretending to observe, that a British *anus* being more narrowly perforated than one of our own country, and many of these excrements,
upon

upon a strict view, appearing copple crowned with a point like a cone or pyramid, are easily distinguished from the Hibernian, which lie much flatter and with less continuity. I communicated this conjecture to an eminent physician, who is well versed in such profound speculations; and at my request was pleased to make trial with each of his fingers, by thrusting them into the *anus* of several persons of both nations, and professed he could find no such difference between them as those ill disposed people alledge. On the contrary, he assured me, that much the greater number of narrow cavities were of Hibernian origin. This I only mention, to shew how ready the *Jacobites* are to lay hold of any handle to express their malice against the government. I had almost forgot to add, that my friend the physician could, by smelling each finger, distinguish the Hibernian excrement from the British, and was not above twice mistaken in an hundred experiments; upon which he intends very soon to publish a learned dissertation.

There is a diversion in this city, which usually begins among the *butchers*; but is often continued by a succession of other people through many streets; it is called the *COSSING of a dog*: and I may justly number it among our corruptions. The ceremony is thus: A strange dog happens to pass through a flesh-market; whereupon an expert butcher immediately cries in a loud voice, and the proper tone, *cofs, cofs*, several times. The same word is repeated by the people. The dog,

dog, who perfectly understands the terms of art, and consequently the danger he is in, immediately flies. The people and even his own brother animals pursue: the pursuit and cry attend him perhaps half a mile; he is well worried in his flight; and sometimes hardly escapes. This our ill wishers of the *Jacobite* kind are pleased to call a *persecution*; and affirm, that it always falls upon *dogs* of the *tory* principle. But we can well defend ourselves, by justly alledging, that when they were uppermost, they treated our *dogs* full as inhumanly. As to my own part, who have in former times often attended these *processions*, although I can very well distinguish between a *whig* and *tory dog*, yet I never carried my resentment very far from a *party principle*, except it were against certain malicious *dogs*, who most discovered their enmity against us in the *worst of times* *. And I remember too well, that in the wicked ministry of the Earl of Oxford, a large mastiff of our party being unmercifully *coffed*, ran without thinking between my legs, as I was coming up Fishamble street; and, as I am of low stature, with very short legs, bore me riding backwards down the hill for above two hundred yards; and although I made use of his tail for a bridle, holding it fast with both my hands, and elung my legs as close to his sides as I could; yet we both came down together into the middle of the kennel; where after rowling three or four times over each other, I

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* A cant word used by the Whigs for the four last years of queen Anne's reign, during the Earl of Oxford's ministry.

got up with much ado amidst the shouts and huzzas of a thousand malicious *Jacobites*. I cannot indeed but gratefully acknowledge, that for this, and many other *services* and *sufferings* † I have been since more than over-paid.

This adventure may perhaps have put me out of love with the diversion of *coffing*, which I confess myself an enemy to, unless we could always be sure of distinguishing *tory dogs*; whereof great numbers have since been so prudent, as entirely to change their principles, and are now justly esteemed the best *worriers* of their former friends.

I am assured, and partly know, that all the chimney-sweepers boys, where members of parliament chiefly lodge, are hired by *our enemies* to sculk in the tops of chimnies with their heads no higher than will just permit them to look round; and at the usual hours when members are going to the house, if they see a coach stand near the lodging of any loyal member, they call coach, coach, as loud as they can bawl, just at the instant when the footman begins to give the same call. And this is chiefly done on those days, when any point of importance is to be debated. This practice may be of very dangerous consequence; for these boys are all hired by enemies to the government: and thus by the absence of a few members for a few minutes, a question may be carried against the *true interest* of the kingdom, and very probably not without an eye towards the *pretender*.

I have

† See the apology for the Tale of a Tub, Vol. I.

I have not observed the wit and fancy of this town so much employed in any one article, as that of contriving variety of signs to hang over houses where punch is to be sold. The bowl is represented full of punch, the ladle stands erect in the middle, supported sometimes by one and sometimes by two animals, whose feet rest upon the edge of the bowl. These animals are sometimes one black lion, and sometimes a couple; sometimes a single eagle, and sometimes a spread one; and we often meet a crow, a swan, a bear, or a cock, in the same posture.

Now, I cannot find how any of these animals, either separate or in conjunction, are, properly speaking, fit emblems or embellishments to advance the sale of punch. Besides, it is agreed among *naturalists*, that no brute can endure the taste of strong liquor, except where he hath been used to it from his infancy; and consequently it is against all the rules of *hieroglyph* to assign those animals as patrons or protectors of punch. For in that case, we ought to suppose, that the host keeps always ready the real bird or beast, whereof the picture hangs over his door, to entertain his guests; which however to my knowledge is not true in fact: not one of those birds being a proper comparison for a *christian*, as to aiding and assisting in making the punch. For as they are drawn upon the sign, they are much more likely to mix, or shed their feathers into the liquor. Then as to the bear, he is too terrible, awkward, and slovenly a companion to converse with; nei-

ther are any of them all *bandy* enough to fill liquor to the company: I do therefore vehemently suspect a *plot* intended against the government by these devices. For although the *spread eagle* be the arms of Germany, upon which account it may possibly be a lawful *protestant* sign; yet I, who am very suspicious of fair out-faces in a matter which so nearly concerns our welfare, cannot but call to mind, that the *pretender's* wife is said to be of German birth; and that many *popish* princes in so vast an extent of land, are reported to excel both at making and drinking punch: besides, it is plain, that the *spread eagle* exhibits to us the perfect figure of a *cross*; which is a badge of *popery*. Then as to the *cock*, he is well known to represent the French nation, our old and dangerous enemy. The *swan*, who must of necessity cover the entire bowl with his wings, can be no other than the Spaniard, who endeavours to engross all the treasures of the Indies to himself. The *lion* is indeed the common emblem of royal power, as well as the arms of England; but to paint him in black, is perfect *Jacobitism*, and a manifest type of those who blacken the actions of the best princes. It is not easy to distinguish, whether that other fowl painted over the punch-bowl be a *crow* or a *raven*. It is true, they have both been ominous birds: but I rather take it to be the former; because it is the disposition of a *crow* to pick out the eyes of other creatures; and often even of *christians*, after they are dead; and is therefore drawn here with a design to put the

Jacobites

Jacobites in mind of their old practice, first to lull us asleep (which is an emblem of death) and then to blind our eyes, that we may not see their dangerous practices against the state.

To speak my private opinion: The least offensive picture in the whole set, seems to be the *bear*; because he represents *ursa major*, or the *great bear*, who presides over the *north*, where the *reformation* first began; and which, next to Britain (including Scotland and the north of Ireland) is the great protector of the *true protestant* religion. But however, in those signs, where I observe the *bear* to be *chained*, I cannot help surmising a *Jacobite* contrivance; by which these traitors hint an earnest desire of using all *true whigs*, as their predecessors did the primitive christians; I mean, to represent us as *bears*, and then halloo their *tory-dogs* to beat us to death.

Thus I have given a fair account of what I dislike in all the signs set over those houses that invite us to *punch*. I own, it was a matter that did not need explaining, being so very obvious to common understanding; yet I know not how it happens, but methinks there seems a fatal blindness to overspread our corporal eyes, as well as our intellectual; and I heartily wish, I may be found a false prophet: for these are not bare suspicions, but manifest demonstrations.

Therefore, away with these *popish Jacobites*, and idolatrous gew-gaws. And I heartily wish a law were enacted under severe penalties against drinking *punch* at all; for nothing is easier, than

to prove it a disaffected liquor: the chief ingredients, which are, *brandy, oranges, and lemons*, are all sent us from *popish* countries; and nothing remains of *protestant* growth, but *sugar and water*. For as to biscuit, which formerly was held a necessary ingredient, and is truly British, we find it is entirely rejected.

But I will put the truth of my assertion past all doubt: I mean, that this liquor is, by one important innovation, grown of ill example, and dangerous consequence to the public. It is well known, that by the true original institution of making *punch*, left us by captain Ratcliff, the sharpness is only occasioned by the juice of *lemons*; and so continued until after the happy revolution. *Oranges*, alas! are a mere innovation, and in a manner *but of yesterday*. It was the politics of *Jacobites* to introduce them gradually; and to what intent? The thing speaks itself. It was cunningly to shew their virulence against his sacred majesty king William of ever glorious and immortal memory. But of late (to shew how fast disloyalty encreaseth) they came from one to two, and then to three *oranges*; nay, at present we often find *punch* made all with *oranges*, and not one single *lemon*. For the *Jacobites*, before the death of that immortal prince, had, by a superstition, formed a private prayer, that as they squeezed the *orange*, so might that *protestant* king be squeezed to death; according to the known *forcery* described by Virgil;

Limus ut hic durescit, et hac ut cera liquefit, &c.

And

And thus the Romans, when they sacrificed an ox, used this kind of prayer: *As I knock down this ox, so may'st thou, O Jupiter! knock down our enemies.* In like manner, after king William's death, whenever a *Jacobite* squeezed an orange, he had a mental curse upon the glorious memory, and a hearty wish for power to squeeze all his majesty's friends to death, as he squeezed that orange, which bore one of his titles, as he was prince of Orange. This I do affirm for truth, many of that faction having confessed it to me under an oath of secrecy, which however I thought it my duty not to keep, when I saw my dear country in danger. But what better can be expected from an impious set of men, who never scruple to drink CONFUSION to all true protestants under the name of *whig*? A most unchristian and inhuman practice; which to our great honour and comfort was never charged upon us, even by our most malicious detractors.

The sign of two *angels* hovering in the air, and with their right hand supporting a crown, is met with in several parts of this city; and hath often given me great offence: for, whether by the unskilfulness or dangerous principles of the painters (although I have good reasons to suspect the latter) those *angels* are usually drawn with such horrid, or indeed rather diabolical countenances, that they give great offence to every loyal eye, and equal cause of triumph to the *Jacobite*, being a most infamous reflection upon our able and excellent ministry.

I now

I now return to that great enormity of city *cries*; most of which we have borrowed from London. I shall consider them only in a *political* view, as they nearly affect the peace and safety of both kingdoms; and having been originally contrived by wicked Machiavels to bring in *popery*, *slavery*, and *arbitrary power*, by defeating the *protestant* succession, and introducing the *pretender*, ought in justice to be here laid open to the world.

About two or three months after the happy *revolution*, all persons who possessed any employment or office, in church or state, were obliged by act of parliament to take the oaths to king William and queen Mary: and a great number of disaffected persons refusing to take the said oaths, from a pretended scruple of conscience, but really from a spirit of *popery* and rebellion, they contrived a plot to make the swearing to those princes odious in the eyes of the people. To this end, they hired certain women of ill fame, but loud shrill voices, under pretence of selling fish, to go through the streets with sieves on their heads, and cry, *buy my soul, buy my soul*; plainly insinuating, that all those, who swore to king William, were just ready to sell their *souls* for an employment. This cry was revived at the death of queen Anne, and, I hear, still continues in London with much offence to all *true protestants*; but to our great happiness, seems to be almost dropt in Dublin.

But because I altogether condemn the displeasure

sure and resentment of *high-flyers, Tories, and Jacobites*, whom I look upon to be *worse even than profest papists*, I do here declare, that those evils which I am going to mention, were all brought in upon us in the *worst of times*, under the late earl of Oxford's administration, during the four last years of Queen Anne's reign. *That wicked minister was universally known to be a papist in his heart* *. He was of a most avaricious nature, and is said to have died worth four millions sterl. besides his vast expence in building, statues, plate, jewels, and other costly rarities. He was of a mean obscure birth, from the very dregs of the people; and so illiterate, that he could hardly read a paper at the council table. I forbear to touch on his open, profane, profligate life; because I desire not to rake into the ashes of the dead: and therefore, I shall observe this wise maxim, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*.

This flagitious man, in order to compass his black designs, employed certain wicked instruments (which great statesmen are never without) to adapt several London cries, in such a manner as would best answer his ends. And, whereas it was, upon good grounds, grievously suspected, that all *places* at court were sold to the highest bidder; certain women were employed by his emissaries, to carry *fish* in baskets on their heads, and bawl through the streets, *buy my fresh places*. I must indeed own, that other women used the same cry, who were innocent of this wicked design,

* The author's meaning is just contrary to the literal sense in the character of Lord Oxford. *Hawkes*.

sign, and really sold fish of that denomination, to get an honest livelihood; but the rest, who were in the *secret*, although they carried *fish* in their sieves or baskets, to save appearances, yet they had likewise a certain sign, somewhat resembling that of the *free-masons*, which the purchasers of *places* knew well enough, and were directed by the women whither they were to resort and make their purchase. And, I remember very well, how oddly it looked, when we observed many gentlemen finely dressed about the court-end of the town, and as far as York-buildings, where the lord-treasurer Oxford dwelt, calling the women who cried *buy my fresh places*, and talking to them in the corner of a street, until they understood each other's sign. But we never could observe, that any fish was bought.

Some years before the cries last mentioned, the duke of Savoy was reported to have made certain overtures to the court of England, for admitting his eldest son by the dutchess of Orleans' daughter, to succeed to the crown, as next heir, upon the *pretender's* being rejected; and that son was immediately to turn *protestant*. It was confidently reported, that great numbers of people disaffected to the then *illustrious*, but now *royal* house of Hanover, were in those measures. Whereupon another set of women were hired by the *Jacobite* leaders, to cry through the whole town, *buy my Savoy, dainty Savoy, curious Savoy*. But I cannot directly charge the late earl of Oxford with this *conspiracy*, because he was
not

not then chief minister. However, this wicked cry still continues in London, and was brought over hither, where it remains to this day; and is, in my humble opinion, a very offensive sound to every true *protestant*, who is old enough to remember those *dangerous* times.

During the ministry of that corrupt and *Jacobite* earl above mentioned, the secret pernicious design of those in power, was to sell Flanders to France: the consequence of which must have been, the infallible ruin of the States-general, and would have opened the way for France to obtain that universal monarchy, they have so long aimed at; to which the British dominions must, next after Holland, have been compelled to submit, whereby the *protestant* religion would be rooted out of the world.

A design of this vast importance, after long consultation among the *Jacobite* grandees, with the earl of Oxford at their head, was at last determined to be carried on by the same method with the former: it was therefore again put in practice; but the conduct of it was chiefly left to chosen men, whose voices were louder and stronger than those of the other sex: and upon this occasion was first instituted in London that famous cry of FLOUNDERS. But the criers were particularly directed to pronounce the word *flaunders*, and not *flounders*. For the country, which we now by corruption call Flanders, is, in its true orthography, spelt *flaunders*, as may be obvious to all who read old English books. I say, from
hence

hence begun that thundering cry, which hath ever since stunned the ears of all London, made so many children fall into fits, and women miscarry; *come buy my fresh flaunders, curious flaunders, charming flaunders, alive, alive, ho;* which last words can, with no propriety of speech, be applied to fish manifestly dead, (as I observed before in *herrings* and *salmon*) but very justly to ten provinces, containing many millions of living *Christians*. But the application is still closer, when we consider, that all the people were to be taken like *fishes* in a net; and by assistance of the *pope*, who sets up to be the *universal fisher of men*, the whole innocent nation was, according to our common expression, to be *laid as flat as a flounder*.

I remember, myself, a particular crier of *flaunders* in London, who arrived at so much fame for the loudness of his voice, as to have the honour of being mentioned upon that account in a comedy. He hath disturbed me many a morning, before he came within fifty doors of my lodging: and although I were not in those days so fully apprized of the designs, which our common enemy had then in agitation, yet I know not how, by a secret impulse, young as I was, I could not forbear conceiving a strong dislike against the fellow; and often said to myself, *This cry seems to be forged in the Jesuits school: alas, poor England! I am grievously mistaken, if there be not some popish plot at the bottom*. I communicated my thoughts to an intimate friend, who reproached me with being too visionary in my speculations: but it proved

proved afterwards that I conjectured right. And I have since reflected, that if the wicked faction could have procured only a thousand men of as strong lungs as the fellow I mentioned, none can tell how terrible the consequences might have been, not only to these two kingdoms, but over all Europe, by selling Flanders to France. And yet these cries continue unpunished both in London and Dublin; although, I confess, not with equal vehemency or loudness; because the reason for contriving this desperate plot, is, to our great felicity, wholly ceased.

It is well known, that the majority of the British house of commons, in the last years of queen Anne's reign, were, in their hearts, directly opposite to the earl of Oxford's pernicious measures; which put him under the necessity of bribing them with salaries. Whereupon he had again recourse to his old politics. And accordingly his emissaries were very busy in employing certain artful women, of no good life and conversation (as was proved before justice * Peyton) to cry that vegetable commonly called *fellery* through the town. These women differ from the common criers of that herb by some private mark, which I could never learn; but the matter was notorious enough, and sufficiently talked of; and about the same period was the cry of *fellery* brought over into this kingdom. But since there is not, at this present, the least occasion to

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* A famous whig justice in those times.

suspect the loyalty of our criers upon that article, I am content that it may still be tolerated.

I shall mention but one cry more, which hath any reference to politics; but is, indeed, of all others, the most insolent, as well as treasonable, under our present happy establishment, I mean that of *turnups*; not of *turnips*, according to the best orthography, but absolutely *turnups*. Although the cry be of an older date than some of the preceding enormities; for it began soon after the revolution; yet was it never known to arrive at so great a height, as during the earl of Oxford's power. Some people (whom I take to be private enemies) are indeed as ready as myself, to profess their disapprobation of this cry, on pretence, that it began by the contrivance of certain old procuresses, who kept houses of ill fame, where lewd women met to draw young men into vice. And this they pretend to prove, by some words in the cry; because, after the crier had bawled out *turnups*, *ho, buy my dainty turnups*, he would sometimes add the *two* following verses:

*Turn up the mistress, and turn up the maid,
Turn up the daughter, and be not afraid.*

This, say some political sophists, plainly shews, that there can be nothing farther meant in so infamous a cry, than an invitation to lewdness; which, indeed, ought to be severely punished in all well-regulated governments; yet cannot be fairly interpreted as a crime of state. But, I hope, we are not so weak and blind, to be deluded,

ed, at this time of day, with such poor evasions. I could, if it were proper, demonstrate the very time when those two verses were composed, and name the author, who was no other than the famous Mr. Swan, so well known for his talent at quibbling, and was as virulent a *Jacobite* as any in England. Neither could he deny the fact, when he was taxed for it in my presence, by Sir Henry Dutton Colt, and colonel Davenport, at the Smyrna coffee-house, on the 10th of June 1701. Thus it appears to a demonstration, that those verses were only a blind, to conceal the most dangerous designs of the party; who, from the first years after the happy revolution, used a cant-way of talking in their clubs, after this manner: *We hope to see the cards shuffled once more, and another king TURN UP trump: and, when shall we meet over a dish of TURNUPS?* The same term of art was used in their plots against the government, and in their treasonable letters written in cyphers, and decyphered by the famous Dr. Willes, as you may read in the trials of those times. This I thought fit to set forth at large, and in so clear a light; because the Scotch and French authors have given a very different account of the word *turnup*; but whether out of ignorance or partiality, I shall not decree; because I am sure the reader is convinced by my discovery. It is to be observed, that this cry was sung in a particular manner, by fellows in disguise, to give notice where those traitors were to meet, in order to concert their villanous designs.

I have no more to add upon this article, than an humble propofal, that thofe, who cry this root at prefent in our ftreets of Dublin, may be compelled by the juftices of the peace to pronounce *turnip*, and not *turnup*: for, I am afraid, we have ftill too many fnakes in our bofom; and it would be well if their cellars were fometimes fearch'd, when the owners leaft expect it; for I am not out of fear, that *latet anguis in herba*.

Thus, we are zealous in matters of fmall moment, while we neglect thofe of the higheft importance. I have already made it manifef, that all thefe cries were contriv'd in the *worft of times*, under the miniftry of that desperate ftatefman, Robert late earl of Oxford; and for that very reafon, ought to be reject'd with horror, as begun in the reign of *Jacobites*, and may well be numbered among the rags of *popery* and *treafon*; or, if it be thought proper that thefe cries muft continue, furely they ought to be only trufte'd in the hands of *true proteftants*, who have given fecurity to the government.

A LETTER

A LETTER from a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland, to a Member of the House of Commons in England, concerning the SACRAMENTAL TEST. †

Written in the year 1708. *

SIR,

I Received your letter, wherein you tell me of the strange representations made of us on your side of the water. The instance you are pleased to mention, is that of the *presbyterian missionary*,

† In the 1st volume of Dr. Swift's and Mr. Pope's Miscellanies, I found the following treatise, which had been printed in London, with some other of the Dean's works, many years before, but at first came out by itself in the year 1708, as the date shews: and it was at a juncture, when the dissenters were endeavouring to repeal the sacramental test, as, by common fame, and some pamphlets published to the same purpose, they seem to be now again attempting, with great hope of success. I have therefore taken the liberty to make an extract out of that discourse, omitting only some passages, which relate to certain persons, and are of no consequence to the argument. But the author's way of reasoning seems at present to have more weight, than it had in those times, when the discourse first appeared.—The author, in this letter, personates a member of parliament here, to a member of parliament in England.—The speaker, mentioned in this letter, was Allen Broderick, afterwards Chancellor and Lord Middleton; and the prelate was Dr. Lindfay, afterwards Primate.

* This tract was reprinted in Ireland in 1735, when the attempt to repeal the sacramental test was revived. There was an explanatory advertisement prefixed, which is said by Lord Orre-

sonary, who, according to your phrase, hath been lately *persecuted* at Drogheda for his religion: but it is easy to observe, how mighty industrious some people have been, for three or four years past, to hand about stories of the hardships, the merits, the number and the power of the *presbyterians* in Ireland, to raise formidable ideas of the danger of *popery* there, and to transmit all for England, improved by great additions, and with special care to have them inserted, with comments, in those infamous weekly papers, that infest your coffee-houses. So, when the clause enacting a *sacramental test* was put in execution, it was given out in England, that half the justices of peace through this kingdom had laid down their commissions: whereas, upon examination, the whole number was found to amount only to a dozen or thirteen,

ry to have been dictated, or strictly revised by the Dean himself: but there are inaccuracies in it, which may well be thought sufficient to destroy its authenticity: that which, in the first paragraph, is called the *following treatise*, is afterwards said to be an *extract of a discourse*; and it is immediately added, that this *extract* is the *whole*, except some passages of no consequence: these are included in a parenthesis. *Hawkes.*

Swift held the dissenters in the utmost degree of ridicule and detestation. He had an openness in his disposition, and a frankness in his conduct, that bore an abhorrence to all kind of reserve.—To such a disposition it is impossible that the gravity of nonconformists could be agreeable. The dislike was mutual on both sides. Dr. Swift hated all fanatics: all fanatics hated Dr. Swift. This piece is particularly written against *repealing the test act*: and whoever considers himself related to the kingdom of Ireland, will find in it some arguments of weight and consideration, in case any such repeal should ever be attempted there. *Orrery.*

thirteen, and those generally of the lowest rate in fortune and understanding, and some of them superannuated. So, when the earl of Pembroke was in Ireland, and the parliament sitting, a formal story was very gravely carried to his excellency, by some zealous members, of a priest newly arrived from abroad to the north-west parts of Ireland, who had publicly preached to his people to fall a-murdering the protestants; which, though invented to serve an end they were then upon, and are still driving at, was presently handed over, and printed with shrewd remarks by your worthy scribblers. In like manner, the account of that person, who was lately expelled our university for reflecting on the memory of king William; what a dust it raised, and how foully it was related, is fresh enough in memory. Neither would people be convinced, till the university was at the pains of publishing a Latin paper to justify themselves. And, to mention no more, this story of the *persecution* at Drogheda, how it hath been spread and aggravated, what consequences have been drawn from it, and what reproaches fixed on those who have least deserved them, we are already informed. Now, if the end of all this proceeding were a secret and mystery, I should not pretend to give it an interpretation; but sufficient care hath been taken to explain it, *first*, by addresses artificially (if not illegally) procured, to shew the miserable state of the *dissenters* in Ireland, by reason of the *sacramental test*, and to desire the queen's intercession, that it might

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be repealed. *Then*, it is manifest, that * our speaker, when he was last year in England, solicited in person several members of both houses, to have it repealed by an act there; though it be a matter purely national, that cannot possibly interfere with the trade and interest of England; and though he himself appeared formerly the most zealous of all men against the injustice of binding a nation by laws to which they do not consent. And, *lastly*, those weekly libellers, whenever they get a tale by the end relating to Ireland, without once troubling their thoughts about the truth, always end it with an application against the *sacramental test*, and the absolute necessity there is of repealing it in both kingdoms. I know it may be reckoned a weakness to say any thing of such trifles, as are below a serious man's notice; much less would I disparage the understanding of any party, to think they would choose the vilest and most ignorant among mankind, to employ them for the assertors of a cause. I shall only say, that the scandalous liberty those wretches take, would hardly be allowed, if it were not mingled with opinions that *some men* would be glad to advance. Besides, how insipid soever those papers are, they seem to be levelled to the understandings of a great number; they are grown a necessary part in coffee-house furniture, and, some time or other, may happen to be read by customers of all ranks, for curiosity and amusement,

* Mr. Allan Broderick, afterwards chancellor of Ireland, and Lord Middleton,

ment, because they ly always in the way. One of these authors (the fellow that was pilloried, I have * forgot his name) is indeed so grave, sententious, dogmatical a rogue, that there is no enduring him; the † *observator* is much the brisker of the two, and I think further gone of late in lies and impudence than his *presbyterian* brother. [The reason why I mention him, is to have an occasion of letting you know, that you have not dealt so gallantly with us as we did with you in a parallel case: last year a paper was brought here from England, called, *A dialogue between the archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Higgins*, which we ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, as it well deserved, though we have no more to do with his grace ‡ of Canterbury, than you have with the archbishop of Dublin; nor can you love and reverence your prelate more than we do ours, whom you tamely suffer to be abused openly, and by name, by that paltry rascal of an *observator*; and lately upon an affair wherein he had no concern; I mean the business of the *missionary* of Drogheda,

* The fellow that was pilloried, was Daniel Defoe, whose name Swift well knew and remembered; but the circumstance of the pillory was to be introduced; and the manner of introducing it shews great art in the nicest touches of satire, and carries all the marks of ridicule, indignation, and contempt. The scoffs and sarcasms of Swift, like the bite of the rattlesnake, distinguish themselves more venomously dangerous, than the wound of a common serpent. *Orrery.*

He was pilloried for a tract called, *The shortest way with the dissenters.*

† Mr. John Tutchin.

‡ Dr. Thomas Tenison.

Drogheda, wherein our excellent *primate* was engaged, and did nothing but according to law and discretion. But because the Lord Archbishop || of Dublin hath been, upon several occasions, of late years, misrepresented in England, I would willingly set you right in his character. For his great sufferings and eminent services, he was by the late king promoted to the see of Derry. About the same time he wrote a book to justify the revolution, wherein was an account of king James's proceedings in Ireland; and the late archbishop Tillotson recommended it to the king, as the most serviceable treatise that could have been published at such a juncture. And as his grace set out upon those principles, he has proceeded so ever since, as a loyal subject to the queen, entirely for the succession in the protestant line, and for ever excluding the *pretender*; and though a firm friend to the church, yet with indulgence towards dissenters, as appears from his conduct at Derry, where he was settled for many years among the most virulent of the sect; yet upon his removal to Dublin, they parted from him with tears in their eyes, and universal acknowledgments of his wisdom and goodness. For the rest, it must be owned, he does not busy himself by entering deep into any party, but rather spends his time in acts of hospitality and charity, in building of churches, repairing his palace, in introducing and preferring the worthiest persons he can find, without other regards: in short, in the practice

|| Dr. William King.

practice of all virtues, that can become a public or private life. This and more, if possible, is due to so excellent a person, who may be justly reckoned among the greatest and most learned prelates of this age, however his character may be defiled by such mean and dirty hands as those of the *observer*, or such as employ him.]

I now come to answer the other part of your letter, and shall give you my opinion freely about repealing the *sacramental test*: only, whereas you desire my thoughts as a friend, and not as I am a member of parliament, I must assure you they are exactly the same in both capacities.

I must begin by telling you, we are generally surprised at your wonderful kindness to us on this occasion, in being so very industrious to teach us to see our interest in a point where we are so unable to see it ourselves. This hath given us some suspicion; and though in my own particular, I am hugely bent to believe, that whenever you concern yourselves in our affairs, it is certainly *for our good*, yet I have the misfortune to be something singular in this belief, and therefore I never attempt to justify it, but content myself to possess my own opinion in private, for fear of encountering men of more wit or words, than I have to spare.

We at this distance, who see nothing of the spring of actions, are forced, by mere conjecture, to assign two reasons for your desiring us to repeal the *sacramental test*: one is, because you are
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said to imagine it will be a step towards the like *good work in England*: the other more immediate, that it will open a way for rewarding *several persons*, who have well deserved upon a *great occasion*, but who are now unqualified through that impediment.

I do not frequently quote poets, especially English: but I remember there is in some of Mr. Cowley's love verses, a strain, that I thought extraordinary at fifteen, and have often since imagined it to be spoken by Ireland,

*Forbid it, heaven, my life should be
Weigh'd with her least conveniency.*

In short, whatever advantage you propose to yourselves, by repealing the *sacramental test*, speak it out plainly; it is the best argument you can use; for we value your interest much more than our own: if your little finger be sore, and you think a poultice made of our *vitals* will give it any ease, speak the word, and it shall be done: the interest of our whole kingdom is at any time ready to strike to that of your poorest *fishing towns*: it is hard you will not accept our services, unless we believe, at the same time, that that you are only consulting our profit, and giving us marks of your love. If there be a fire at some distance, and I immediately blow up my house before there be occasion, because you are a man of quality, and apprehend some danger to a *corner of your stable*; yet, why should you require me to attend next morning at your levee, with
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my humble thanks for the favour you have done me?

If we might be allowed to judge for ourselves, we had abundance of benefit by the *sacramental test*, and foresee a number of mischiefs would be the consequence of repealing it; and we conceive the objections made against it by the *dissenters* are of no manner of force. They tell us of their merits in the late war in Ireland, and how chearfully they engaged for the safety of the nation; that if they had thought they had been fighting only other people's quarrels, perhaps it might have cooled their zeal; and that, for the future, they shall sit down quietly, and let us do our work ourselves; nay, that it is necessary they should do so, since they cannot take up arms, under the penalty of high treason.

Now, supposing them to have done their duty, as I believe they did, and not to trouble them about the **fly on the wheel*, I thought *liberty*, *property*, and *religion*, had been the three subjects of the quarrel; and have not all these been amply secured to them? had they, at that time, a *mental reservation* for *power* and *employments*? and, must these two articles be added henceforward in our national quarrels? It is grown a mighty conceit among some men, to melt down the phrase of a *church established by law*, into that of

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* Alluding to the fable of a fly, who having settled on the spoke of a wheel belonging to a chariot that was driven rapidly along the road, exulted in his own importance, and cried out, "What a dust we raise!"

the *religion of the magistrate*; of which appellation, it is easier to find the reason than the sense: if by the *magistrate* they mean the *prince*, [the expression includes a fallhood; for, when king James was *prince*] the established church was the same it is now. If, by the same word, they mean the legislature, we desire no more. Be that as it will, we of this kingdom believe the church of Ireland to be the national church, and the only one established by law, and are willing, by the same law to give a *toleration* to dissenters; but if once we repeal our *sacramental test*, and grant a *toleration*, or suspend the execution of the penal laws, I do not see how we can be said to have any established church remaining; or rather, why there will not be as many established churches, as there are sects of dissenters. No, say they, yours will still be the national church, because your bishops and clergy are maintained by the public: but *that*, I suppose, will be of no long duration; and it would be very unjust it should; because, to speak in Tindal's phrase, it is not reasonable, that revenues should be annexed to one opinion more than another, when all are equally lawful; and it is the same author's maxim, that no free-born subject ought to pay for maintaining speculations he does not believe. *But why should any man, upon account of opinions he cannot help, be deprived the opportunity of serving his queen and country!* their zeal is commendable; and when employments go a-begging for want of hands, they shall be sure to have the refusal, only upon condition

tion they will not pretend to them upon maxims, which equally include *Atheists, Turks, Jews, Infidels*, and *Heretics*; or, which is still more dangerous, even *papists* themselves: the former you allow, the other you deny; because these last own a foreign power, and therefore must be shut out. But there is no great weight in this; for their religion can suit with free states, with limited or absolute monarchies, as well as a better; and the *pope's* power in France is but a shadow; so that, upon this foot, there need be no great danger to the constitution, by admitting *papists* to employments. I will help you to enow of them shall be ready to allow the *pope* as little power here as you please; and the bare opinion of his being vicar of Christ, is but a *speculative point*, for which no man, it seems, ought to be deprived the capacity of serving his country.

But, if you please, I will tell you the great objection we have against repealing this same *sacramental test*. It is, that we are verily persuaded, the consequence will be, an entire alteration of religion among us, in no great compass of years. And pray, observe how we reason here in Ireland upon this matter.

We observe the Scots in our northern parts to be a brave industrious people, extremely devoted to their religion, and full of an *undisturbed* affection towards each other. Numbers of that noble nation, invited by the fertilities of the soil, are glad to exchange their barren hills of Lochaber, by a voyage of three hours, for our fruitful vales

of Down and Antrim, so productive of that *grain*, which, at little trouble, and less expence, finds diet and lodging for themselves and their cattle. These people, by their extreme parsimony, wonderful *dexterity in dealing*, and firm adherence to one another, soon grow into wealth from the *smallest beginnings*, never are rooted out where they once fix, and increase daily by new supplies: besides, when they are the superior number in any tract of ground, they are not *over patient of mixture*; but such, whom they cannot *assimilate*, soon find it their interest to remove. I have done all in my power, on some land of my own, to preserve two or three English fellows in their neighbourhood, but found it impossible, though one of them thought he had sufficiently made his court, by turning presbyterian. Add to this, that they bring along with them from Scotland a most formidable notion of our church, which they look upon at least three degrees worse than popery: and it is natural it should be so, since they come over full fraught with that spirit, which taught them to abolish episcopacy at home.

Then we proceed farther, and observe, that the gentlemen of employments here make a very considerable number in the house of commons, and have no *other merit*, but that of doing their duty in their several stations; therefore when the test is repealed, it will be highly reasonable they should give place to those, who have much *greater services* to plead. The commissions of the revenue are soon disposed of; and the collectors
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and other officers throughout the kingdom are generally appointed by the commissioners, which gives them a mighty influence in every county. As much may be said of the great offices in the law; and when this door is open to let dissenters into the commissions of the peace, to make them high-sheriffs, mayors of corporations, and officers of the army and militia, I do not see how it can be otherwise, considering their industry and our supineness, but that they may, in a very few years, grow to a majority in the house of commons, and consequently make themselves the national religion, and have a fair pretence to demand the revenues of the church for their teachers. I know it will be objected, that if all this should happen as I describe, yet the presbyterian religion could never be made the national by act of parliament, because our bishops are so great in number in the house of lords; and without a majority there, the church could not be abolished. But I have *two very good expedients* for that, which I shall leave you to guess, and I dare swear our speaker here has often thought on, especially having endeavoured at *one of them* so lately. To convince you, that this design is not so foreign from *some people's* thoughts, I must let you know, that an honest *bell weather* * of our house (you have him now in England, I wish you could keep him there) had the impudence some years ago, in parliament-time, to shake my

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* Supposed to be Mr. Broderick.

lord bishop of Kilaloo † by his lawn-sleeve, and tell him, in a threatening manner, *that he hoped to live to see the day, when there should not be one of his order in the kingdom.*

These last lines perhaps you think a digression : therefore, to return, I have told you the consequences we fully reckon upon from repealing the *sacramental test* ; which, although the greatest number of such as are for doing it, are actually in no manner of pain about it, and many of them care not three-pence whether there be any *church*, or no ; yet because they pretend to argue from conscience, as well as policy and interest, I thought it proper to understand and answer them accordingly.

Now, Sir, in answer to your question, whether, if any attempt should be made here for repealing the *sacramental test*, it would be likely to succeed ? The number of professed dissenters in this parliament was, as I remember, something under a dozen ; and I cannot call to mind above thirty others, who were expected to fall in with them. This is certain, that the presbyterian party having with great industry mustered up their forces, did endeavour one day, upon occasion of a hint in my lord ‡ Pembroke's speech, to introduce a debate about repealing the *test clause*, when there appeared at least four to one odds against them ; and the ablest of those, who were reckoned the most staunch and thorough-paced *whigs* upon all other occasions,

† Dr. Lindsay, afterwards lord primate.

‡ Then lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

occasions, fell off with an abhorrence at the first mention of this.

I must desire you to take notice, that the terms of *whig* and *tory* do not properly express the different interests in our parliament. [I remember, when I was last in England, I told the king, that the highest tories we had with us would make tolerable whigs there : this was certainly right, and still in the general continues so, unless you have since admitted new characteristics, which did not come within our definition.] Whoever bears a true veneration for the glorious memory of King William, as our great deliverer from popery and slavery ; whoever is firmly loyal to our present queen, with an utter abhorrence and detestation of the pretender ; whoever approves the succession to the crown in the house of Hanover, and is for preserving the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, with an *indulgence* for scrupulous consciences ; such a man we think acts upon right principles, and may be justly allowed a *whig* : and I believe there are not six members in our house of commons, who may not fairly come under this description. So that the parties among us are made up on one side of *moderate whigs*, and on the other of *presbyterians* and their *abettors* ; by which last, I mean such, who can equally go to a *church* or *conventicle*, or such who are indifferent to all religion in general ; or lastly, such who affect to bear a personal rancour towards the clergy : these last are a set of men not of our own growth ; their principles at least have been

been *imported* of late years : yet this whole party put together, will scarce, I am confident, amount to above fifty men in parliament, which can hardly be worked up into a majority of three hundred.

As to the house of lords, the difficulty there, is conceived at least as great as in ours. So many of our temporal peers live in England, that the bishops are generally pretty near a *par* of the house, and we reckon they will be all to a man against repealing the *test* ; and yet their lordships are generally thought as good whigs upon our principles as any in the kingdom. There are indeed a few lay-lords, who appear to have no great devotion for episcopacy ; and perhaps one or two more, with whom *certain powerful motives* might be used for removing any difficulty whatsoever : but these are, in no sort, a number to carry any point against a conjunction of the rest and the whole bench of bishops.

Besides, the whole body of our clergy is utterly against repealing the *test*, though they are entirely devoted to her majesty, and hardly one in an hundred, who are not very good *whigs* in our acceptation of the word. And I must let you know, that we of Ireland are not yet come up to *other folks refinements* ; for we generally love and esteem our clergy, and think they deserve it ; nay, we are apt to lay some weight upon their opinion, and would not willingly disoblige them, at least, unless it were upon some greater point of interest than this. And their judgment in the present
affair

affair is the more to be regarded, because they are the last persons, who will be affected by it: this makes us think them impartial, and that their concern is only for religion and the interest of the kingdom: because the act, which repeals the *test*, will only qualify a *layman* for an employment, but not a *presbyterian* or *anabaptist* preacher for a church living. Now I must take leave to inform you, that several members of our house, and myself among the rest, knowing some time ago what was upon the anvil, went to all the clergy we knew of any distinction, and desired their judgment in the matter; wherein we found a most wonderful agreement, there being but *one divine* that we could hear of in the whole kingdom, who appeared of a contrary sentiment, wherein he afterwards stood alone in the *convocation*, very little to his *credit*, though, as he hoped, very much to his *interest*.

I will now consider a little the arguments offered to shew the advantages, or rather the necessity of repealing the *test* in Ireland. We are told, the popish interest is here so formidable, that all hands should be joined to keep it under; that the only names of distinction among us ought to be those of *protestant* and *papist*; and that this expedient is the only means to *unite* all protestants upon one common bottom. All which is nothing but misrepresentation and mistake.

If we were under any real fear of the papists in this kingdom, it would be hard to think us so stupid, as not to be equally apprehensive with
others,

others, since we are likely to be the greatest, and more immediate sufferers : but, on the contrary, we look upon them to be altogether as inconsiderable as the women and children. Their lands are almost entirely taken from them, and they are rendered incapable of purchasing any more : and for the little that remains, provision is made by the late act against popery, that it will daily crumble away ; to prevent which, some of the most considerable among them are already turned protestants, and so in all probability will many more. Then, the popish priests are all registered, and without permission (which I hope will not be granted) they can have no successors ; so that the protestant clergy will find it perhaps no difficult matter to bring great numbers over to the church ; and in the mean time the common people, without leaders, without discipline, or natural courage, being little better than *hewers of wood, and drawers of water*, are out of all capacity of doing any mischief, if they were ever so well inclined. Neither are they at all likely to join in any considerable numbers with an *invader*, having found so ill success when they were much more numerous and powerful ; when they had a prince of their own religion to head them *, had been trained for some years under a *popish deputy*, and received such mighty aids from the French king.

As to that argument used for repealing the *test*, that it will unite all protestants against the *common*

* In the reign of king James II. and till after the battle of the Boyne in 1690.

mon enemy; I wonder by what figure those gentlemen speak, who are pleased to advance it. Suppose, in order to encrease the friendship between you and me, a law should pass, that I must have half your estate: do you think that would much advance the union between us? or suppose I share my fortune equally between my own *children* and a *stranger*, whom I take into my protection; will that be a method to unite them? it is an odd way of uniting parties, to deprive a *majority* of part of their antient right, by conferring it on a *faction*, who had never any right at all, and therefore cannot be said to suffer any loss or injury, if it be refused them. Neither is it very clear, how far some people may stretch the term of *common enemy*. How many are there of those that call themselves protestants, who look upon our worship to be idolatrous as well as that of the papists, and with great charity put *prelacy* and *popery* together as terms convertible?

And therefore there is one small doubt I would be willingly satisfied in, before I agree to the repealing of the *test*; that is, whether these same *protestants*, when they have by their dexterity made themselves the national religion, and disposed the church revenues among their *pastors* or *themselves*, will be so kind to allow *us dissenters*, I do not say a share in employments, but a bare *toleration* by law? The reason of my doubt is, because I have been so very idle as to read above fifty pamphlets written by as many presbyterian divines, loudly disclaiming this idol *toleration*,
some

some of them calling it (I know not how properly) a *rag of popery*, and all agreeing it was to *establish iniquity by a law*. Now I would be glad to know, when and where *their successors* have renounced this doctrine, and before what witnesses. Because, methinks I should be loath to see my poor titular bishop *in partibus* seized on by mistake in the dark for a jesuit, or be forced myself to keep a chaplain disguised like my butler, and steal to prayers in a back room, as my grandfather used in those times, when the church of England was *malignant*.

But this is ripping up old quarrels long forgot; popery is now the *common enemy*, against which we must all unite: I have been tired in history with the perpetual folly of those states, who call in foreigners to assist them against a *common enemy*: but the mischief was, these *allies* would never be brought to allow, that the common enemy was quite subdued. And they had reason; for it proved at last, that one part of the common enemy was those who called them in, and so the *allies* became at length the *masters*.

It is agreed among naturalists, that a *lion* is a larger, a stronger, and more dangerous enemy than a *cat*; yet if a man were to have his choice, either a *lion* at his foot, bound fast with three or four chains, his teeth drawn out, and his claws pared to the quick, or an angry *cat* in full liberty at his throat; he would take no long time to determine.

I have been sometimes admiring the wonderful
significancy

significancy of that word *persecution*, and what various interpretations it hath acquired even within my memory. When I was a boy, I often heard the presbyterians complain, that they were not permitted to serve God in their own way; they said they did not repine at our employments, but thought that all men who live peaceably, ought to have liberty of conscience, and leave to assemble. That impediment being removed at the revolution, they soon learned to swallow the *sacramental test*, and began to take very large steps, wherein all who offered to oppose them, were called men of a *persecuting spirit*. During the time the bill against occasional conformity was on foot, *persecution* was every day rung in our ears, and now at last the *sacramental test* itself has the same name. Where then is this matter likely to end, when the obtaining of one request is only used as a step to demand another? A lover is ever complaining of *cruelty*, while any thing is denied him; and when the lady ceases to be *cruel*, she is from the next moment at his mercy: so *persecution*, it seems, is every thing, that will not leave it in mens power to *persecute others*.

There is one argument offered against a *sacramental test* by a sort of men, who are content to be stiled of the church of England, who perhaps attend its service in the morning, and go with their wives to a *conventicle* in the afternoon, confessing they hear very good doctrine in both. These men are much offended, that so holy an

institution, as that of the Lord's Supper, should be made subservient to such mercenary purposes as the getting of an employment. Now it seems, the law, concluding all men to be members of that church where they receive the sacrament; and supposing all men to live like christians (especially those who are to have employments) did imagine they received the sacrament in course about four times a-year; and therefore only desired it might appear by certificate to the public, that such, who took an office, were members of the church established, by doing their ordinary duty. However, *lest we should offend them*, we have often desired they would deal candidly with us: for if the matter stuck only there, we would propose it in parliament, that every man, who takes an employment, should, instead of receiving the sacrament, be obliged to swear, that he is a member of the church of Ireland by law established, with episcopacy, *and so forth*; and as they do now in Scotland, *to be true to the kirk*. But when we drive them thus far, they always retire to the main body of the argument; urge the hardship, that men should be deprived the liberty of serving their queen and country on account of their conscience: and, in short, have recourse to the common stile of their half-brethren. Now, whether this be a sincere way of arguing, I will appeal to any other judgment but theirs.

There is another topic of clamour, somewhat parallel to the foregoing. It seems, by the test-clause, the *military* officers are obliged to receive the

the sacrament, as well as the *civil*. And it is a matter of some patience, to hear the dissenters declaiming upon this occasion : they cry they are *disarmed*, they are used like papists : when an enemy appears at home, or from abroad, they must sit still, and see their throats cut, or be hanged for high-treason if they offer to defend themselves. Miserable condition ! woful dilemma ! It is happy for us all, that the pretender was not apprised of this *passive presbyterian* principle, else he would have infallibly landed in our *northern* parts, and found them all sat down in their formalities, as the Gauls did the Roman senators, ready to die with honour in their callings. Sometimes, to appease their indignation, we venture to give them hopes, that in such a case the government will perhaps connive, and hardly be so severe to hang them for defending it against the letter of the law ; to which they readily answer, that they will not lie at our mercy, but let us fight our battles ourselves. Sometimes we offer to get an act, by which, upon all *popish* insurrections at home, or *popish* invasions from abroad, the government shall be impowered to grant commissions to all protestants whatsoever, without that *persecuting* circumstance of obliging them to *say their prayers* when they receive the sacrament : but they abhor all thoughts of *occasional* commissions ; they will not do our drudgery, and we reap the benefit : it is not worth their while to fight *pro aris et focis* ; and they had rather lose their

their estates, liberties, religion, and lives, than the pleasure of *governing*.

But to bring this discourse towards a conclusion. If the dissenters will be satisfied with such a *toleration* by law, as hath been granted them in England, I believe the majority of both houses will fall readily in with it; farther it will be hard to persuade this house of commons, and perhaps much harder the next. For, to say the truth, we make a mighty difference here, between suffering *thistles* to grow among us, and wearing them for *posies*. We are fully convinced in our consciences, that *we* shall always *tolerate them*; but not quite so fully, that *they* will always *tolerate us*, when it comes to their turn; and *we* are the majority, and *we* are in possession.

He who argues in defence of a law in force, not antiquated or obsolete, but lately enacted, is certainly on the safer side, and may be allowed to point out the dangers he conceives to foresee in the abrogation of it.

For, if the consequences of repealing this clause should at some time or other enable the presbyterians to work themselves up into the national church; instead of *uniting* protestants, it would sow eternal divisions among them. First, their own sects, which now lie dormant, would be soon at cuss *again* with each other about power and preferment; and the *dissenting episcopals*, perhaps discontented to such a degree, as, upon some *fair unhappy* occasion, would be able to shake the firmest loyalty, which none can deny theirs to be.

Neither

Neither is it very difficult to conjecture, from some late proceedings, at what a rate this *faction* is like to drive, where-ever it gets the *whip* and the *seat*. They have already set up courts of spiritual judicature in open contempt of the laws: they send *missionaries* every where, without being invited, in order to convert the *church* of England folks to *christianity*. They are as vigilant as *I know who*, to attend persons on their death-beds, and for purposes much alike. And what practices such principles as these (with many other that might be invidious to mention) may spawn, when they are *laid out to the sun*, you may determine at leisure.

Lastly, Whether we are so entirely sure of their loyalty upon the present foot of government: as you may imagine, their detractors make a question, which however does, I think, by no means affect the body of dissenters: but the instance produced, is of some among their leading teachers in the north, who having refused the *abjuration oath*, yet continue their preaching, and have abundance of followers. The particulars are out of my head; but the fact is notorious enough, and, I believe, hath been published; I think it a pity, it hath not been *remedied*.

Thus I have fairly given you, Sir, my own opinion, as well as that of a great majority in both houses here, relating to this weighty affair; upon which I am confident you may securely reckon. I will leave you to make what use of it you please.

I am with great respect, SIR, Your, &c.

Dublin, Dec. 4. 1708.

U 3

Some:

Some ARGUMENTS against enlarging the power
of BISHOPS in letting of LEASES *.

Mibi credite, major hereditas venit unicuique vestrum in iisdem bonis a jure et a legibus, quam ab iis a quibus illa ipsa bona relicta sunt. Cicero, pro A. Cæcina.

Written in the year 1723.

IN handling this subject, I shall proceed wholly upon this supposition, that those of *our party*, who profess themselves members of the church established, and under the apostolical government of bishops, do desire the continuance and transmission of it to posterity, at least in as good a condition as it is at present: because, as this discourse is not calculated for dissenters of any kind, so neither will it suit the talk or sentiments of those persons, who, with the denomination of churchmen, are oppressors of the inferior clergy, and perpetually quarrelling at the great incomes of the bishops; which is a traditional cant delivered

* This pamphlet is interspersed with those masterly strokes of irony, which are so often intermixed in Swift's works. The general subject of it leads me to recollect a circumstance much to the Dean's honour; he could never be induced to take fines for any of the chapter lands; he always chose to raise the rents, as the method least oppressive to the present tenant, and most advantageous to all future tenants and landlords. He constantly refused to give charity out of the chapter-funds, which he alleged were scarce sufficient to maintain the necessary repairs of the cathedral. *Orrery.*

livered down from former times, and continued with great reason, although it be now near 200 years since almost three parts in four of the church revenues have been taken from the clergy, besides the spoils that have been gradually made ever since of glebes and other lands by the confusion of times, the fraud of encroaching neighbours, or the power of oppressors too great to be encountered.

About the time of the reformation, many *papist* bishops of this kingdom, knowing they must have been soon ejected, if they would not change their religion, made long leases and fee-farms of great part of their lands, reserving very inconsiderable rents, sometimes only a chiefry, by a power they assumed, directly contrary to many ancient canons, yet consistent enough with the common law. This trade held on for many years after the bishops became protestants; and some of their names are still remembered with infamy, on account of enriching their families by such sacrilegious alienations. By these means, episcopal revenues were so low reduced, that three or four fees were often united, to make a tolerable competency. For some remedy to this evil, king James I. by a bounty that became a good Christian prince, bestowed several forfeited lands on the *northern* bishoprics: but in all other parts of the kingdom, the church continued still in the same distress and poverty; some of the fees hardly possessing enough to maintain a country vicar. About the middle of king Charles I's reign, the legislature

legislature here thought fit to put a stop at least to any farther alienations; and so a law was enacted, prohibiting all bishops and other ecclesiastical corporations from setting their lands for above the term of twenty-one years; the rent reserved to be one half of the real value of such lands, at the time they were set, without which condition the lease to be void.

Soon after the restoration of King Charles II. the parliament taking into consideration the miserable estate of the church, certain lands, by way of augmentation, were granted to eight bishops in the act of settlement, and confirmed in the act of explanation; of which bounty, as I remember, three fees were in a great measure defeated; but, by what accidents, it is not here of any importance to relate.

This, at present, is the condition of the church in Ireland, with regard to episcopal revenues: which I have thus briefly (and perhaps imperfectly) deduced, for some information to those, whose thoughts do not lead them to such considerations.

By virtue of the statute already mentioned, under king Charles I. limiting ecclesiastical bodies to the term of twenty-one years, under the reserved rent of half real value, the bishops have had some share in the gradual rise of lands, without which they could not have been supported with any common decency that might become their station. It is above eighty years since the passing of that act: the see of Meath, one of the best in the kingdom, was then worth about 400 l.

per.

per annum; the poorer ones in the same proportion. If this were their present condition, I cannot conceive how they would have been able to pay for their patents, or buy their robes: but this will certainly be the condition of their successors, if such a bill should pass, as they say is now intended, which I will suppose; and believe many persons, who may give a vote for it, are not aware of.

However, this is the act which is now attempted to be repealed, or at least eluded; some are for giving bishops leave to let fee-farms, others would allow them to let leases for lives; and the most moderate would repeal that clause, by which the bishops are bound to let their lands at half value.

The reasons for the rise of value in lands, are of two kinds. Of the first kind, are, long peace and settlement after the devastations of war; plantations, improvements of bad soil, recovery of bogs and marshes, advancement of trade and manufactures, increase of inhabitants, encouragement of agriculture, and the like.

But there is another reason for the rise of land, more gradual, constant and certain; which will have its effects in countries, that are very far from flourishing in any of the advantages I have just mentioned: I mean, *the perpetual decrease in the value of gold and silver*. I shall discourse upon these two different kinds, with a view towards the bill now attempted.

As to the first: I cannot see how this kingdom is at any height of improvement, while four
parts

parts in five of the plantations, for 30 years past, have been real disimprovements; nine in ten of the quickset-hedges being ruined for want of care or skill. And as to the forest-trees, they being often taken out of woods, and planted in single rows on the tops of ditches, it is impossible they should grow to be of use, beauty, or shelter. Neither can it be said, that the soil of Ireland is improved to its full height, while so much lies all winter under water, and the bogs made almost desperate, by the ill cutting of the turf. There hath, indeed, been some little improvement in the manufactures of linen and woollen, although very short of perfection; but our trade was never in so low a condition: and as to agriculture, of which all wise nations have been so tender, the desolation made in the country, by engrossing graziers, and the great yearly importation of corn from England, are lamentable instances under what discouragement it lies.

But, notwithstanding all these mortifications, I suppose there is no well-wisher to his country without a little hope, that in time the kingdom may be on a better foot in some of the articles above mentioned. But it would be hard, if ecclesiastical bodies should be the only persons excluded from any share in public advantages, which yet can never happen, without a greater share of profit to their tenants: if God *sends rain equally upon the just and the unjust*, why should those, who wait at his altars, and are instructors of the people,

ple, be cut off from partaking in the general benefits of law or of nature?

But, as this way of reasoning may seem to bear a more favourable eye to the clergy, than perhaps will suit with the present disposition or fashion of the age; I shall therefore dwell more largely upon the second reason for the rise of land, which is *the perpetual decrease of the value of gold and silver.*

This may be observed from the course of the Roman history, above two thousand years before those inexhaustible silver mines of Potosi were known. The value of an *obolus*, and of every other coin, between the time of Romulus and that of Augustus, gradually sunk above five parts in six, as appears by several passages out of the best authors. And yet, the prodigious wealth of that state did not arise from the encrease of bullion in the world, by the discovery of new mines, but from a much more accidental cause, which was the spreading of their conquest, and thereby importing into Rome and Italy, the riches of the *east and west.*

When the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople, the tide of money flowed that way, without ever returning; and was scattered in Asia. But when that mighty empire was overthrown by the *northern* people, such a stop was put to all trade and commerce, that vast sums of money were buried, to escape the plundering of the conquerors; and what remained, was carried off by those ravagers.

It

It were no difficult matter to compute the value of money in England during the Saxon reigns; but the monkish and other writers since the conquest, have put that matter in a clearer light, by the several accounts they have given us of the value of corn and cattle in years of dearth and plenty. Every one knows, that king John's whole portion, before he came to the crown, was but five thousand pounds, without a foot of land.

I have likewise seen the steward's accounts of an ancient noble family in England, written in Latin between three and four hundred years ago, with the several prices of wine and victuals, to confirm my observations.

I have been at the trouble of computing (as others have done) the different values of money for about four hundred years past. Henry duke of Lancaster, who lived about that period, founded an hospital in Leicester, for a certain number of old men, charging his lands with a groat a week to each for their maintenance, which is to this day duly paid them. In those times, a penny was equal to ten pence halfpenny, and somewhat more than half a farthing in ours; which makes about eight ninths difference.

This is plain also from the old custom upon many estates in England to let for leases of lives, (renewable at pleasure) where the reserved rent is usually about twelve pence a pound, which then was near the half real value: and although the fines be not fixed, yet the landlord gets altogether not above three shillings in the pound of the worth
of

of his land: and the tenants are so wedded to this custom, that, if the owner suffer three lives to expire, none of them will take a lease on other conditions; or if he brings in a foreigner who will agree to pay a reasonable rent, the other tenants, by all manner of injuries, will make that foreigner so uneasy, that he must be forced to quit the farm; as the late Earl of Bath felt, by the experience of above ten thousand pounds loss.

The gradual decrease, for about two hundred years after, was not considerable; and therefore I do not rely on the account given by some historians, that Harry the seventh left behind him eighteen hundred thousand pounds; for although the West-Indies were discovered before his death, and although he had the best talents and instruments for exacting of money, ever possessed by any prince since the time of Vespasian (whom he resembled in many particulars) yet I conceive, that in his days, the whole coin of England could hardly amount to such a sum. For in the reign of Philip and Mary, Sir —— Cockain of Derbyshire, the best house-keeper of his quality in the county, allowed his lady fifty pounds a year for maintaining the family, one pound a year wages to each servant, and two pounds to the steward; as I was told by a person of quality, who had seen the original account of his oeconomy. Now, this sum of fifty pounds, added to the advantages of a large domain, might be equal to about five hundred pounds a year at present, or somewhat more than four *fifts*.

The great plenty of silver in England began in queen Elizabeth's reign, when Drake and others took vast quantities of coin and bullion from the Spaniards, either upon their own American coasts, or in their return to Spain. However, so much hath been imported annually from that time to this, that the value of money in England, and most parts of Europe, is sunk above one half within the space of one hundred years, notwithstanding the great export of silver for about eighty years past to the East-Indies, from whence it never returns. But gold not being liable to the same accident, and by new discoveries grown every day more plentiful, seems in danger of becoming a drug.

This hath been the progress of the value of money in former ages, and must of necessity continue so for the future, without some new invasion of Goths and Vandals to destroy law, property and religion, alter the very face of nature, and turn the world upside down.

I must repeat, that what I am to say upon the subject, is intended only for the conviction of those among our *own party*, who are true lovers of the church, and would be glad it should continue in a tolerable degree of prosperity to the end of the world.

The church is supposed to last for ever, both in its discipline and doctrine; which is a privilege common to every petty corporation, who must likewise observe the laws of their foundation. If a gentleman's estate, which now yields him a thousand

thousand pounds a year, had been set for ever at the highest value, even in the flourishing days of king Charles the second, would it now amount to above four or five hundred at most? What if this had happened two or three hundred years ago; would the reserved rent at this day be any more than a small chiefry? Suppose the revenues of a bishop to have been under the same circumstances; could he now be able to perform works of hospitality and charity? Thus, if the revenues of a bishop be limited to a thousand pounds a year; how will his successor be in a condition to support his station with decency, when the same denomination of money shall not answer an half, a quarter, or an eighth part of that sum? which must unavoidably be the consequence of any bill to elude the limiting act, whereby the church was preserved from utter ruin.

The same reason holds good in all corporations whatsoever, who cannot follow a more pernicious practice than that of granting perpetuities, for which many of them smart to this day; although the leaders among them are often so stupid as not to perceive it, or sometimes so knavish as to find their private account in cheating the community.

Several colleges in Oxford were aware of this growing evil about an hundred years ago; and instead of limiting their rents to a certain sum of money, prevailed with their tenants to pay the price of so many barrels of corn, to be valued as the market went at two seasons (as I remember) in the year. For a barrel of corn is of a real intrinsic value,

which gold and silver are not: and by this invention, these colleges have preserved a tolerable subsistence for their fellows and students to this day.

The present bishops will indeed be no sufferers by such a bill; because, their ages considered, they cannot expect to see any great decrease in the value of money; or at worst they can make it up in the fines, which will probably be greater than usual upon the change of leases into fee-farms or lives; or without the power of obliging their tenants to a real half value. And, as I cannot well blame them for taking such advantages (considering the nature of human kind) when the question is only, whether the money shall be put into their own, or another man's pocket: so they will never be excusable before God or man, if they do not, to their death, oppose, declare, and protest against any such bill, as must in its consequences complete the ruin of the church, and of their own order in this kingdom.

If the fortune of a private person be diminished by the weakness or inadvertency of his ancestors, in letting leases for ever at low rents, the world lies open to his industry for purchasing of more: but the church is barred by a *dead hand*; or, if it were otherwise, yet the custom of making bequests to it, hath been out of practice for almost two hundred years, and a *great deal directly contrary* hath been its fortune.

I have been assured by a person of some consequence, to whom I am likewise obliged for the account of some other facts already related, that the

the late † bishop of Salisbury (the greatest *whig* of that bench in his days) confessed to him, that the liberty which bishops in England have of letting leases for lives, would, in his opinion, be one day the ruin of episcopacy there; and thought the church in this kingdom happy by the limitation act.

And have we not already found the effect of this different proceeding in both kingdoms? Have not two English prelates quitted their peerage and seats in parliament, in a *nation of freedom*, for the sake of a more ample revenue even in this unhappy kingdom, rather than lie under the mortification of living below their dignity at home? for which, however, they cannot be justly censured. I know indeed some persons, who offer, as an argument for repealing the limiting bill, that it may in future ages prevent the practice of providing this kingdom with bishops from England, when the only temptation will be removed. And they alledge, that, as things have gone for some years past, gentlemen will grow discouraged from sending their sons to the university, and from suffering them to enter into holy orders, when they are likely to languish under a curacy or small vicarage to the end of their lives: but this is all a vain imagination; for the decrease in the value of money will equally affect both kingdoms: and besides, when bishoprics here grow too small to invite over men of credit and consequence, they will be left more fully to the disposal of a chief

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governor,

† Dr. Burnet.

governor, who can never fail of some worthless illiterate chaplain, fond of a title and precedence. Thus will that whole bench, in an age or two, be composed of mean, ignorant, fawning gownmen, humble suppliants and dependents upon the *court* for a morsel of bread, and ready to serve every turn that shall be demanded from them, in hopes of getting some *commendam* tacked to their fees; which must then be the trade, as it is now too much in England, to the great discouragement of the inferior clergy. Neither is that practice without example among us.

It is now about eighty-five years since the passing of that limiting act, and there is but one instance in the memory of man, of a bishop's lease broken, upon the plea of not being statutable; which, in every body's opinion, could have been lost by no other person than he, who was then tenant, and happened to be very ungracious in his county. In the present ‡ bishop of Meath's case, that plea did not avail, although the lease were notoriously unstatutable; the rent reserved, being, as I have been told, not a seventh part of the real value; yet the jury, upon their oaths, *very gravely* found it to be according to the statute; and one of them was heard to say, that he would *eat his shoes*, before he would give a verdict for the bishop. A very few more have made the same attempt, with as little success. Every bishop and other ecclesiastical body reckon forty pounds in an hundred to be a reasonable half value; or if it be only a third part, it seldom

‡ Dr. Evans, a Welshman,

feldom or never breeds any difference between landlord and tenant. But when the rent is from five to nine or ten parts less than the worth, the bishop, if he consults the good of his see, will be apt to expostulate; and the tenant, if he be an honest man, will have some regard to the reasonableness and justice of the demand, so as to yield to a moderate advancement, rather than engage in a suit, where law and equity are directly against him. By these means, the bishops have been so true to their trusts, as to procure some small share in the advancement of rents; although it be notorious, that they do not receive the third penny (fines included) of the real value of their lands throughout the kingdom.

I was never able to imagine what inconvenience could accrue to the public by one or two thousand pounds a year in the hands of a protestant bishop, any more than of a lay person *. The former, generally speaking, liveth as piously and hospitably as the other; pays his debts as honestly, and spends as much of his revenue among his tenants: besides, if they be his immediate tenants, you may distinguish them at first sight by their habits and horses; or, if you go to their houses, by their comfortable way of living. But the misfortune is, that such immediate tenants, generally speaking, have others under them, and so a third and fourth in subordination, till it comes to the *welder*

* This part of the paragraph is to be applied to the period when the whole was written, which was in 1723, when several of queen Anne's bishops were living.

der (as they call him) who sits at a rack-rent, and lives as miserable as an Irish farmer upon a new lease from a lay landlord. But suppose a bishop happens to be avaricious, (as being composed of the same stuff with other men) the consequence to the public is no worse than if he were a 'squire; for he leaves his fortune to his son or near relation, who, if he be rich enough, will never think of entering into the church.

And as there can be no disadvantage to the public, in a protestant country, that a man should hold lands as a *bishop*, any more than if he were a *temporal* person; so it is of great advantage to the community, where a bishop lives as he ought to do. He is bound in conscience to reside in his diocese, and by a solemn promise to keep hospitality: his estate is spent in the kingdom, not remitted to England: he keeps the clergy to their duty, and is an example of virtue both to them and the people. Suppose him an ill man; yet his very character will withhold him from any great or open exorbitancies. But in fact it must be allowed, that some bishops of this kingdom, within twenty years past, have done very signal and lasting acts of public charity; great instances whereof are the * late and † present primate, and the Lord ‡ Archbishop of Dublin that now is, who hath left memorials of his bounty in many parts of his province. I might add the bishop of § Raphoe, and several others: not forgetting the late dean of Down, Dr. Pratt, who bestowed

one

* Dr. Marsh. † Dr. Lindsay. ‡ Dr. King. § Dr. Foster.

one thousand pounds upon the university; which foundation (that I may observe by the way) if the bill proposed should pass, would be in the same circumstances with the bishops, nor ever able again to advance the stipends of the fellows and students, as lately they found it necessary to do; the determinate sum appointed by the statute for commons, being not half sufficient, by the fall of money, to afford necessary sustenance. But the passing of such a bill must put an end to all ecclesiastical beneficence for the time to come; and whether this will be supplied by those who are to reap the benefit, better than it hath been done by the grantees of impropriate tythes, who received them upon the old church conditions of keeping hospitality, it will be easy to conjecture.

To alledge, that passing such a bill would be a good encouragement to improve bishops lands, is a great error. Is it not the general method of landlords, to wait the expiration of a lease, and then cant their lands to the highest bidder? And what should hinder the same course to be taken in church leases, when the limitation is removed, of paying half the real value to the bishop? In riding through the country, how few improvements do we see upon the estates of laymen, farther than about their own domains? To say the truth, it is a great misfortune, as well to the public as to the bishops themselves, that their lands are generally let to lords and great 'squires, who in reason were never designed to be tenants; and therefore may naturally murmur at the payment of rent, as a
 subserviency.

subserviency they were not born to. If the tenants to the church were honest farmers, they would pay their fines and rents with chearfulness, improve their lands, and thank God they were to give but a moderate half value for what they held. I have heard a man of a thousand pounds a-year talk with great contempt of bishops leases, as being on a worse foot than the rest of his estate; and he had certainly reason: My answer was, that such leases were originally intended only for the benefit of industrious husbandmen, who would think it a great blessing to be so provided for, instead of having his farm screwed up to the height, not eating one comfortable meal in a year, nor able to find shoes for his children.

I know not any advantage that can accrue by such a bill, except the preventing of perjury in jurymen, and false dealing in tenants; which is a remedy like that of giving my money to an highwayman, before he attempts to take it by force; and so I shall be sure to prevent the sin of robbery.

I had wrote thus far, and thought to have made an end; when a bookseller sent me a small pamphlet, entitled, *The case of the laity, with some queries*; full of the strongest malice against the clergy, that I have any where met with since the reign of Toland, and others of that tribe. These kind of advocates do infinite mischief to OUR GOOD CAUSE, by giving grounds to the unjust reproaches of TORIES and JACOBITES, who charge us with being enemies to the church. If I bear an hearty unfeigned loyalty to his majesty
king.

king GEORGE and the house of Hanover, not shaken in the least by the hardships we lie under, which never can be imputable to so gracious a prince; if I sincerely abjure the *Pretender*, and all *popish successors*; if I bear a due veneration to the glorious memory of the late king WILLIAM, who preserved these kingdoms from *popery* and *slavery* with the expence of his blood, and hazard of his life; and lastly, if I am for a proper indulgence to all *dissenters*, I think nothing more can be reasonably demanded of *me* as a WHIG, and that my political catechism is full and complete. But whoever, under the shelter of that party denomination, and of many great professions of loyalty, would destroy, or undermine, or injure the church established; I utterly disown him, and think he ought to choose another name of distinction for himself and his adherents. I came into the cause upon other principles, which, by the grace of God, I mean to preserve as long as I live. Shall we justify the accusations of our adversaries? *Hoc Ithacus velit.* The *Tories* and *Jacobites* will behold us, with a malicious pleasure, determined upon the ruin of our *friends*. For is not the present set of bishops almost entirely of that number, as well as the great majority of the principal clergy? And a short time will reduce the whole by vacancies upon death.

An impartial reader, if he pleases to examine what I have already said, will easily answer the bold queries in the pamphlet I mentioned; he will be convinced, that *the reason still strongly exists, for*
which

which that limiting law was enacted. A reasonable man will wonder, where can be *the insufferable grievance*, that an *ecclesiastical* landlord should expect a moderate or a third part value in rent for his lands, when his title is *at least* as ancient and as legal as that of a layman; who is yet but seldom guilty of giving such beneficial bargains. Has *the nation been thrown into confusion*? And have many poor families been ruined by rack-rents paid for the lands of the church? does *the nation cry out* to have a law that must in time send their bishops a-begging? But God be thanked, the clamours of enemies to the church, is not yet the cry, and I hope will never prove the *voice* of the nation. The clergy, I conceive, will hardly allow that *the people maintain them*, any more than in the sense that all landlords whatsoever are maintained by the people. Such assertions as these, and the insinuations they carry along with them, proceed from principles which cannot be avowed by those, who are for preserving the happy constitution in church and state. Whoever were the proposers of such queries, it might have provoked a bold writer to retaliate, perhaps with more justice than prudence, by shewing at whose door the grievance lies, and that the bishops *at least* are not to answer for the poverty of tenants.

To gratify this great reformer, who enlarges the *episcopal* rent-roll almost one half, let me suppose that all the church lands in the kingdom were thrown up to the laity; would the tenants in such a case sit easier in their rents than they do

do now? Or, would the money be equally spent in the kingdom? No; the farmer would be screwed up to the utmost penny by the agents and stewards of *absentees*, and the revenues employed in making a figure at London; to which city a full third part of the whole *income* of Ireland is annually returned, to answer that single *article of maintenance* for Irish landlords.

Another of his quarrels is against *pluralities* and *non-residence*: as to the former, it is a word of ill-name, but not well understood. The clergy having been stripped of the greatest part of their revenues, the *glebes* being generally lost, the *tythes* in the hands of laymen, the churches demolished, and the country depopulated; in order to preserve a face of *christianity*, it was necessary to unite small *vicarages* sufficient to make a tolerable maintenance for a *minister*. The profit of ten or a dozen of these *unions* seldom amounts to above eighty or an hundred pounds a year. If there be a very few *dignitaries*, whose preferments are perhaps more liable to this accusation, it is to be supposed, they may be *favourites of the time*; or persons of *superior* merit, for whom there hath ever been some indulgence in all governments.

As to *non-residence*, I believe there is no christian country upon earth, where the clergy have less to answer for upon that *article*. I am confident there are not ten clergymen in the kingdom, who, properly speaking, can be termed *non-residents*; for surely we are not to reckon in that

number those, who for want of *glebes* are forced to retire to the nearest neighbouring village for a *cabin* to put their heads in ; the leading man of the parish, when he makes the greatest clamour, being least disposed to accommodate the *minister* with an acre of ground. And indeed, considering the *difficulties* the clergy lie under upon this head, it hath been frequent matter of wonder to *me*, how they are able to perform that part of their duty so well as they do.

There is a * noble author, who hath lately addressed to the house of commons an excellent discourse for the *encouragement of agriculture* ; full of most useful *hints*, which I hope that honourable assembly will consider as they deserve. I am not a stranger to his lordship ; and, excepting in what relates to the church, there are few persons with whose opinions I am better pleased to agree ; and am therefore grieved when I find him charging the inconveniencies in the payment of *tythes* upon the *clergy* and their *proctors*. His lordship is above considering a very known and vulgar truth, that the meanest farmer hath all manner of advantages against the most *powerful* clergyman, by whom it is impossible he can be wronged, although the *minister* were ever so evil disposed ; the whole system of *teazing, perplexing, and defrauding* the *proctor*, or his *master*, being as well known to every *ploughman*, as the reaping or sowing of his corn, and much more artfully practised. Besides, the leading man in the parish
must

* The late Lord Molesworth.

must have his *tythes* at his own rate, which is hardly ever above one quarter of the value. And I have heard it computed by many skilful observers, whose interest was not concerned, that the clergy did not receive throughout the kingdom one half of what the laws have made their due.

As to his lordship's discontent against the *bishops-court*, I shall not interpose farther than in venturing my private opinion, that the clergy would be very glad to recover their just *dues* by a more *short, decisive, and compulsive* method, than such a cramped and limited jurisdiction will allow.

His lordship is not the only person disposed to give the clergy the honour of being the *sole* encouragers of all new improvements. If *hops, hemp, flax*, and twenty things more are to be planted, the clergy *alone* must reward the industrious farmer by abatement of the *tythe*. What if the owner of nine parts in ten would please to abate proportionally in his rent for every acre thus improved? Would not a man just dropt from the clouds, upon a full hearing, judge the demand to be at least as reasonable?

I believe no man will dispute his lordship's title to his estate; nor will I the *jus divinum* of *tythes*, which he mentions with some emotion. I suppose the affirmative would be of little advantage to the clergy, for the same reason that a *maxim* in *law* hath more weight in the world, than an *article* of *faith*. And yet I think there may be such a thing as *sacrilege*; because it is frequently mentioned by Greek and Roman au-

thors, as well as described in *holy writ*. This I am sure of; that his lordship would at any time excuse a PARLIAMENT for not concerning itself in his properties without his own consent.

The observations I have made upon his lordship's discourse, have not, I confess, been altogether proper to my subject: however, since he hath been pleased therein to offer some proposals to the house of commons with relation to the clergy, I hope he will excuse me for differing from him; which proceeds from his own principle, the desire of defending *liberty* and *property*, that he hath so strenuously and constantly maintained.

But the other writer openly declares for a law empowering the bishops to set *fee-farms*; and says, *Whoever intimates, that they will deny their consent to such a reasonable law, which the whole nation cries for, are enemies to them and the church.* Whether this be his real opinion, or only a strain of mirth and irony, the matter is not much. However, my sentiments are so directly contrary to his, that, I think, whoever impartially reads and considers what I have written upon this argument, hath either no regard for the church established under the hierarchy of bishops, or will never consent to any law, that shall repeal or elude the limiting clause relating to the real half value, contained in the act of parliament *decimo Caroli, For the preservation of the inheritance, rights, and profits of lands belonging to the church, and persons ecclesiastical*: which was grounded upon reasons, that do still, and must for ever subsist.

The PRESBYTERIANS PLEA of MERIT in order to take off the TEST, impartially examined.

Written in the year 1731. *

WE have been told in the common newspapers, that all attempts are to be made this session by the *presbyterians* and their abettors, for taking off the test; as a kind preparatory step to make it go down smoother in England. For if once *their light would so shine*, the *papists*, delighted with the blaze, would all come in and dance about it. This I take to be a prudent method; like that of a discreet physician, who first gives a new medicine to a *dog*, before he prescribes it to a human creature †.

The

* See a letter on the subject, P. 209, of this volume; which was reprinted in Ireland on the same occasion that produced this and the three following tracts.

† The author begins this tract in the true vein of wit and spirit, by saying,—“ We have been told in the common newspapers, that all attempts are to be made this session by the *presbyterians* and their abettors, for taking off the test; as a kind of preparatory step to make it go down smoother in England. For if once *their light would so shine*, the *papists*, delighted with the blaze, would all come in and dance about it. This I take to be a prudent method; like that of a discreet physician, who first gives a new medicine to a *dog*, before he prescribes it to a human creature.”—I have quoted this short passage for the style, as well as the matter; and I dare say, even from hence you will be confirmed in one general observation, that Swift maintains and conducts his metaphors and allusions, with a justness particularly delicate and exact, and without the least stiffness or affectation. I have formerly men-

The *presbyterians* have, ever since the revolution, directed their learned casuists to employ their pens on this subject, by shewing the merits and pretensions, upon which they claim this *justice*, as founded upon the services they did towards the restoration of king Charles the second, and at the *revolution* under the prince of Orange. Which pleas I take to be the most singular in their kind, that ever were offered in the face of the sun against the most glaring lights of truth, and against a continuation of public facts known to all Europe for twenty years together. I shall therefore, impartially examine the merits and conduct of the *presbyterians* upon those two great events; and the pretensions to favour, which they challenge upon them.

Soon after the reformation of the church in England under Edward the sixth, upon queen Mary's succeeding to the crown (who restored *popery*) many *protestants* fled out of England to escape the persecution raised against the church, as her brother had left it established. Some of these exiles went to Geneva; which city had received the doctrine of Calvin, and rejected the government of bishops; with many other refinements. These English exiles readily embraced the Geneva system; and having added further improvements of their own, upon queen Mary's death

tioned in what degree of contempt and hatred he held the Dissenters, especially the presbyterians [above, p. 210.] and I need only add, that as this pamphlet was written for the meridian of Ireland, it ought to have been placed with the other tracts on the same subject. *Orrery*.—And so it is placed in this edition.

death returned to England ; where they preached up their new opinions, inveighing bitterly against *episcopacy*, and all rites and ceremonies, however innocent and antient in the church : building upon this foundation ; to run as far as possible from *popery*, even in the most minute and indifferent circumstances. This faction, under the name of *puritan*, became very turbulent during the whole reign of queen Elizabeth, and were always discouraged by that wise queen, as well as by her two successors. However, their numbers as well as their insolence and perverseness so far increased, that soon after the death of king James the first, many instances of their petulancy and scurrility are to be seen in their pamphlets written for some years after (which was a trade they began in the days of queen Elizabeth) particularly with great rancour against the bishops, the habits, and the ceremonies : such were those scurrilous libels under the title of Martin Marprelate, and several others. And although the Earl of Clarendon tells us, until the year 1640 (as I remember) the kingdom was in a state of perfect peace and happiness, without the least appearance of thought or design towards making any alterations in religion or government ; yet I have found, by often rummaging for old books in Little Britain and Ducklane, a great number of pamphlets printed from the year 1630 to 1640, full of as bold and impious railing expressions against the lawful power of the crown, and the order of bishops, as ever were uttered during the rebellion,

rebellion, or the whole subsequent tyranny of that fanatic anarchy. However, I find it manifest, that *puritanism* did not erect itself into a new separate species of religion, till some time after the rebellion began. For in the latter times of king James the first, and the former part of his son, there were several *puritan* bishops, and many *puritan* private clergymen; while people went, as their inclinations led them, to hear preachers of each party in the parish churches; for the *puritan* clergy had received episcopal orders as well as the rest. But soon after the rebellion broke out, the term *puritan* gradually dropt, and that of *presbyterian* succeeded; which sect was in two or three years established in all its forms, by what they called an ordinance of the lords and commons, without consulting the king, who was then at war against his rebels. And from this period, the church continued under persecution, until monarchy was restored in the year 1660.

In a year or two after, we began to hear of a new party risen, and growing in the parliament, as well as the army, under the name of *independent*: it spread, indeed, somewhat more in the latter, but not equal with the *presbyterians*, either in weight or number, until the very time the king was murdered.

When the king, who was then a prisoner in the isle of Wight, had made his last concessions for a peace to the commissioners of the parliament, who attended him there; upon their return to London, they reported his majesty's answer

swer in the house. Whereupon a number of moderate members, who, as Ludlow says, had secured their own terms with that prince, managed with so much art, as to obtain a majority in a thin house for passing a vote, That *the king's concessions were a ground for a future settlement*. But the great officers of the army joining with the discontented members, came to a resolution of excluding all those who had consented to that vote; which they executed in a military way. Ireton told Fairfax the general, a rigid *presbyterian*, of this resolution; who thereupon issued his orders for drawing out the army the next morning, and placing guards in Westminster-hall, the court of requests, and the lobby; who, in obedience to the general, in conjunction with those members who had opposed the vote, would let no member enter the house, except those of their own party. Upon which the question for bringing the king to justice, was immediately put, and carried without opposition, that I can find. Then an order was made for his trial; the time and place appointed; the judges named, of whom Fairfax himself was one; although, by the advice or threats of his wife, he declined sitting among them. However, by fresh orders under his own hand, which I have seen in print, he appointed guards to attend the judges at the trial, and to keep the city in quiet; as he did likewise to prevent any opposition from the people upon the day of execution.

From what I have already deduced, it appears manifest,

manifest, that the differences between these two sects, *presbyterian* and *independent*, did not then amount to half so much as what there is between a *whig* and *tory* at present among us. The design of utterly extirpating monarchy and episcopacy, was equally the same in both; evidently the consequence of the very same principles, upon which the *presbyterians* alone began, continued, and would have ended in the same events; if, towards the conclusion, they had not been bearded by that new party, with whom they could not agree about dividing the spoil. However, they held a good share of civil and military employments during the whole time of the usurpation; and their names, actions and preferments are frequent in the accounts of those times: For, I make no doubt, that all the prudent *presbyterians* complied, in proper seasons falling in with the stream; and thereby got that share in employments, which many of them held till the restoration, and perhaps, too many of them after. In the same manner, we find our wisest *tories* in both kingdoms, upon the change of hands and measures at the queen's death, have endeavoured, for several years, by due compliances, to recover the time they had lost by a temporary obstinacy; wherein they have well succeeded, according to their degrees of merit; of whose names I could here make honourable mention, if I did not fear it might offend their modesty. As to what is alleged, that some of the *presbyterians* declared openly against the king's murder; I allow it to be true.

true. But, from what motives? No other can possibly be assigned than perfect spite, rage, and envy, to find themselves wormed out of all power by a new infant spawn of *independents* sprung from their own bowels. It is true, the differences in religious tenets between them, are very few and trifling; the chief quarrel, as far as I remember, relating to congregational and national assemblies. But, wherever interest or power think fit to interfere, it little imports what principles the opposite parties think fit to charge upon each other; for we see at this day, that the *tories* are more hated by the whole set of zealous *whigs*, than the very *papists* themselves; and, in effect, as much unqualified for the smallest office; although both these parties assert themselves to be of the same religion, in all its branches of doctrine and discipline; and profess the same loyalty to the same *protestant* king and his heirs.

If the reader would know what became of this *independent* party, upon whom all the mischief is charged by their *presbyterian* brethren, he may please to observe, that, during the whole usurpation, they contended, by degrees, with their parent sect, and, as I have already said, shared in employments; and gradually, after the restoration, mingled with the mass of *presbyterians*; lying ever since undistinguished in the herd of *dissenters*.

The *presbyterian* merit is of as little weight, when they alledge themselves instrumental towards the king's restoration. The kingdom grew
tired

tired with those ridiculous models of government; first by a house of lords and commons, without a king; then without bishops; afterwards by a rump* and lords temporal; then by a rump alone; next by a single person for life, in conjunction with a council; by agitators; by major-generals; by a new kind of representatives from the three kingdoms; by the keepers of the liberties of England; with other schemes that have slipped out of my memory. Cromwell was dead; his son Richard, a weak ignorant wretch, who gave up his monarchy, much in the same manner with the two usurping kings of Brentford; † the people harassed with taxes, and other oppressions. The king's party, then called the Cavaliers, began to recover their spirits. The few nobility scattered through the kingdom, who lived in a most retired manner, observing the confusion of things, could no longer endure to be ridden by bakers, cobblers, brewers, and the like, at the head of armies, and plundering every where like French dragoons. The *rump* assembly grew despicable to those who had raised them: the city of London, exhausted by almost twenty years contributing to their own ruin, declared against them. The *rump*, after many deaths and resurrections, was, in the most contemptuous manner, kicked out, and burnt in effigy. The
excluded

* This name was given to that part of the house of commons which remained after the moderate men had been expelled by military force. *Hawkes.*

† In the Rehearsal. *Hawkes.*

excluded members were let in ; a free parliament called, in as legal a manner as the times would allow ; and the king restored.

The second claim of *presbyterian* merit, is founded upon their services against the dangerous designs of king James the Second ; while that prince was using all his endeavours to introduce *popery*, which he openly professed upon his coming to the crown : to this they add their eminent services at the revolution under the prince of Orange.

Now, the *quantum* of *presbyterian* merit, during the four years reign of that weak, bigotted, and ill-advised prince, as well as at the time of the revolution, will easily be computed, by a recourse to a great number of histories, pamphlets and public papers, printed in those times, and some afterwards ; besides the verbal testimonies of many persons yet alive, who are old enough to have known and observed the *dissenters* conduct in that critical period.

It is agreed, that upon king Charles the second's death, soon after his successor had publicly owned himself a Roman *catholic*, he began with his first cares to the church party ; from whom having received very cold, discouraging answers, he applied to the *presbyterian* leaders and teachers : being advised by his priests and *popish* courtiers, that the safest method towards introducing his own religion, would be by taking off the *sacramental test*, and giving a full liberty of conscience to all religions, (I suppose that professed

christianity.) It seems that the *presbyterians* in the later years of king Charles the second, upon account of certain plots (allowed by bishop Burnet to be genuine) had been for a short time forbid to hold their conventicles. Whereupon these charitable Christians, out of perfect resentment against the church, received the gracious offers of king James with the strongest professions of loyalty, and highest acknowledgements for his favour. I have seen several of their addresses, full of thanks and praises, with bitter insinuations of what they had suffered; putting themselves and the *papists* upon the same foot, as fellow-sufferers for conscience; and with the stile of *our brethren the Roman catholics*. About this time began the project of *closeting* (which hath since been practised many times with more art and success) where the principal gentlemen of the kingdom were privately catechised by his majesty, to know whether, if a new parliament were called, they would agree to pass an act for repealing the *sacramental test*, and establishing a general liberty of conscience. But he received so little encouragement, that, despairing of success, he had recourse to his dispensing power, which the judges had determined to be part of his prerogative. By colour of this determination, he preferred several *presbyterians*, and many *papists*, to civil and military employments. While the king was thus busied, it is well known that monsieur Fagel, the Dutch envoy in London, delivered the opinion of the prince and princess of Orange concerning

cerning the repeal of the *test*; whereof the king had sent an account to their highnesses, to know how far they approved of it. The substance of their answer, as reported by Fagel, was this, *that their highnesses thought very well of a liberty of conscience; but by no means of giving employments to any other persons than those who were of the national church.* This opinion was confirmed by several reasons: I cannot be more particular, not having the paper by me, although it hath been printed in many accounts of those times. And thus much every moderate churchman would perhaps submit to: but to trust any part of the civil power in the hands of those, whose interest, inclination, conscience, and former practices, have been wholly turned to introduce a different system of religion and government, hath very few examples in any christian state; nor any at all in Holland, the great patroness of universal toleration.

Upon the first intelligence king James received of an intended invasion by the prince of Orange, among great numbers of *papists* to increase his troops he gave commissions to several *presbyterians*; some of whom had been officers under the *rump*; and particularly he placed one Richards, a noted *presbyterian*, at the head of a regiment, who had been governor of Wexford in Cromwell's time, and is often mentioned by Ludlow in his *Memoirs*. This regiment was raised in England against the prince of Orange: the colonel made his son a captain, whom I knew, and who was as zealous a *presbyterian* as his father. However,

at the time of the prince's landing, the father, easily foreseeing how things would go, went over like many others to the prince, who continued him in his regiment; but coming over a year or two after, to assist in raising the siege of Derry, he behaved himself so like either a coward or a traitor, that his regiment was taken from him.

I will now consider the conduct of the church party during the whole reign of that unfortunate king. They were so unanimous against promising to pass an act for repealing the test, and establishing a general liberty of conscience, that the king durst not trust a parliament; but, encouraged by the professions of loyalty given him by his *presbyterian* friends, went on with his dispensing power.

The church clergy at that time are allowed to have written the best collection of tracts against *popery*, that ever appeared in England; which are to this day in the highest esteem. But upon the strictest enquiry, I could never hear of above one or two papers published by the *presbyterians*, at that time, upon the same subject. Seven great prelates (he of Canterbury among the rest) were sent to the tower for presenting a petition, wherein they desired to be excused in not obeying an illegal command from the king. The bishop of London, Dr. Compton, was summoned to answer before the commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs, for not suspending Dr. Sharp (afterwards Archbishop of York) by the king's command. If the *presbyterians* expressed the same zeal upon any occasion,

sion, the instances of it are not, as I can find, left upon record, or transmitted by tradition. The proceedings against Magdalen college in Oxford, for refusing to comply with the king's mandate for admitting a professed *papist* upon their foundation, are a standing proof of the courage and firmness in religion shown by that learned society, to the ruin of their fortunes. The *presbyterians* know very well, that I could produce many more instances of the same kind. But these are enough, in so short a paper as I intend at present.

It is indeed very true, that after king William was settled on the English throne, the *presbyterians* began to appear, and offer their credentials, and demand favour: and the new king having been originally bred a Calvinist, was desirous enough to make them easy (if that would do it) by a legal toleration; although in his heart he never bore much affection to that sect; nor designed to favour them farther than as it stood with the present scheme of politics; as I have long since been assured by the greatest men of whig principles at that time in England.

It is likewise true, nor will it be denied, that when the king was possessed of the English crown, and the remainder of the quarrel was left to be decided in this kingdom; the *presbyterians* wisely chose to join with the *protestant* army, rather than with that of king James their old friend, whose affairs were then in a manner desperate. They were wise enough to know, that this kingdom,

divided against itself, could never prevail against the united power of England. They fought *pro aris et focis* : for their estates and religion : which latter will never suffer so much by the church of England, as by that of Rome, where they are counted heretics as well as we : and consequently they have no other game to play. But what merit they can build upon having joined with a *protestant* army, under a king they acknowledged, to defend their own liberties and properties against a *popish* enemy under an abdicated king, is, I confess, to me absolutely inconceivable ; and I believe will equally be so for ever to any reasonable man.

When these sectaries were several years ago making the same attempt for abolishing the test, many groundless reports were industriously and seasonably spread, of an invasion threatened by the *pretender* on the north of Ireland. At which time the *presbyterians* in their pamphlets argued in a menacing manner, that if the *pretender* should invade those parts of the kingdom, where the numbers and estates of the dissenters chiefly lay, they would sit still, and *let us fight our own battles* ; since they were to reap no advantage, which ever side should be victors. If this were the course they intended to take in such a case, I desire to know, how they could contrive safely to stand neuters, otherwise than by a compact with the *pretender* and his army to support their neutrality, and protect them against the forces of the crown ? This is a necessary supposition ;
because

because they must otherwise have inevitably been a prey to both. However, by this frank declaration, they sufficiently shewed their good will, and confirmed the common charge laid at their door, That a Scottish or northern *presbyterian* hates our episcopal established church more than *popery* itself. And the reason for this hatred is natural enough ; because it is the church alone, that stands in the way between them and power ; which *popery* doth not.

Upon this occasion I am in some doubt, whether the political spreaders of those chimerical invasions, made a judicious choice in fixing the northern parts of Ireland for that romantic enterprise. Nor can I well understand the wisdom of the *presbyterians* in countenancing and confirming those reports ; because, it seems to cast a most infamous reflection upon the loyalty and religious principles of their whole body ; for if there had been any truth in the matter, the consequence must have been allowed, that the *pretender* counted upon more assistance from his father's friends the *presbyterians*, by choosing to land in those very parts, where their number, wealth and power most prevailed, rather than among those of his own religion. And therefore, in charity to this sect, I rather incline to believe, that those reports of an invasion were formed and spread by the race of small politicians, in order to do a seasonable job.

As to *popery* in general, which, for a thousand years past, hath been introducing and multiplying
corruptions.

corruptions both in doctrine and discipline; I look upon it to be the most absurd system of Christianity professed by any nation. But I cannot apprehend this kingdom to be much in danger from it. The estates of papists are very few; crumbling into parcels, and daily diminishing; their common people are sunk in poverty, ignorance and cowardice, and of as little consequence as women and children. Their nobility and gentry are at least one half ruined, banished, or converted: they all soundly feel the smart of what they suffered in the last Irish war. Some of them are already retired into foreign countries; others, as I am told, intend to follow them; and the rest, I believe, to a man, who still possess any lands, are absolutely determined never to hazard them again, for the sake of establishing their superstition. If it hath been thought fit, as some observe, to abate of the law's rigour against *popery* in this kingdom, I am confident it was done for very wise reasons, considering the situation of affairs abroad at different times, and the interest of the *protestant* religion in general. And as I do not find the least fault in this proceeding, so I do not conceive, why a sunk discarded party, who neither expect nor desire any thing more than a quiet life, should, under the names of *high-flyers*, *Jacobites*, and many other vile appellations, be charged so often in print, and at common tables, with endeavouring to introduce *popery* and the *pretender*; while the *papists* abhor them above all other men, on account of severities against their

their priests in her late majesty's reign, when the *now disbanded reprobate party* was in power. This I was convinced of some years ago, by a long journey into the southern parts; where I had the curiosity to send for many priests of the parishes I passed through; and, to my great satisfaction, found them every where abounding in professions of loyalty to the late king George, for which they gave me the reasons above-mentioned: at the same time, complaining bitterly of the hardships they suffered under the *QUEEN's last ministry*.

I return from this digression to the modest demands of the *presbyterians* for a repeal of the *sacramental test*, as a reward for their merits at the *reformation* and the *revolution*; which merits I have fairly represented, as well as my memory would allow me. If I have committed any mistakes, they must be of little moment. The facts and principal circumstances are what I have obtained and digested from reading the histories of those times written by each party; and many thousands have done the same as well as I, who, I am sure, have in their minds drawn the same conclusions.

This is the faction, and these the men, who are now resuming their applications, and giving in their bills of merit to both kingdoms upon two points, which, of all others, they have the least pretensions to offer. I have collected the facts with all possible impartiality, from the current histories of those times; and have shown, although very briefly, the gradual proceedings of those sectaries, under the denominations of *puritans*,

tans, presbyterians and independents, for about the space of an hundred and eighty years, from the beginning of queen Elizabeth to this present time. But notwithstanding all that can be said, these very schismatics (for such they are in temporals as well as spirituals) are now again expecting, soliciting and demanding (not without insinuated threats, according to their custom) that the parliament should fix them upon an equal foot with the church established. I would fain know to what branch of the legislature they can have the forehead to apply. Not to my lords the bishops; who must have often read how the predecessors of this very faction, acting upon the same principles, drove the whole bench out of the house; who were then, and hitherto continue, one of the three estates: not to the temporal peers, the second of the three estates; who must have heard, that immediately after those rebellious fanatics had murdered their king, they voted a house of lords to be useless and dangerous, and would let them sit no longer, otherwise than when elected as commoners: not to the house of commons; who must have heard, that in those fanatic times the *presbyterian* and *independent* commanders in the army, by military power, expelled all the moderate men out of the house, and left a *rump* to govern the nation: lastly, not to the crown; which those very *faints*, destined to rule the earth, trampled under their feet, and then, in cold blood, murdered the blessed wearer.

But

But the session now approaching, and a clan of dissenting teachers being come up to town from their northern head-quarters, accompanied by many of their elders and agents, and supported by a general contribution, to solicit their establishment, with a capacity of holding all military as well as civil employments, I think it high time that this paper should see the light. However, I cannot conclude without freely confessing, that if the *presbyterians* should obtain their ends, I could not be sorry to find them mistaken in the point, which they have most at heart by the repeal of the *test*; I mean the benefit of employments. For, after all, what assurance can a Scottish northern dissenter, born on Irish ground have, that he shall be treated with as much favour as a *TRUE SCOT* born beyond the Tweed?

I am ready enough to believe, that all I have said will avail but little. I have the common excuse of other men, when I think myself bound by all religious and civil ties, to discharge my conscience, and to warn my countrymen upon this important occasion. It is true, the advocates for this scheme promise a new world, after this blessed work shall be completed; that all animosity and faction must immediately drop; that the only distinction in this kingdom will then be of *papist* and *protestant*; for as to *whig* and *tory*, *high church* and *low church*, *Jacobite* and *Hanoverian*, *court* and *country party*, *English* and *Irish* interests, *dissenters* and *conformists*, *new light* and *old light*, *Anabaptist* and *Independent*, *Quaker* and *Muggletonian*;

an; they will all meet, and jumble together into a perfect harmony, at the sessions and assizes, on the bench, and in the revenues; and, upon the whole, in all civil and military trusts, not excepting the great councils of the nation. For it is wisely argued thus: That a kingdom being no more than a larger knot of friends met together, it is against the rules of good manners to shut any person out of the company, except the *papists*, who profess themselves of another club.

I am at a loss to know, what arts the *presbyterian* sect intends to use, in convincing the world of their loyalty to kingly government, which (long before the prevalence, or even the birth of their *independent* rivals) as soon as the king's forces were overcome, declared their principles to be against monarchy, as well as episcopacy and the house of lords, even until the king was restored: at which event, although they were forced to submit to the present power, yet I have not heard, that they did ever to this day renounce any one principle by which their predecessors then acted; yet this they have been challenged to do, or at least to shew that others have done it for them, by a certain * doctor, who, as I am told, hath much employed his pen in the like disputes. I own, they will be ready enough to insinuate themselves into any government: but if they mean to be honest and upright, they will, and must endeavour by all means which they shall think lawful, to introduce and establish their own scheme of religion,

* The late Dr. TISDAL, who died June 1736.

religion, as nearest approaching to the word of God, by casting out all superstitious ceremonies, ecclesiastical titles, habits, distinctions, and superiorities, as rags of *popery*, in order to a *thorough reformation*; and as in charity bound to promote the salvation of their countrymen, wishing with St. Paul, *that the whole kingdom were as they are*. But what assurance will they please to give, that, when their sect shall become the national established worship, they will treat US DISSENTERS as we have treated them? Was this their course of proceeding during the dominion of the *saints*? Were not all the remainders of the episcopal church in those days, especially the clergy, under a persecution for above a dozen years, equal to that of the primitive Christians under heathen emperors? That this proceeding was suitable to their principles, is known enough; for many of their preachers then writ books, expressly against allowing any liberty of conscience in a religion different from their own; producing many arguments to prove that opinion, and, among the rest, one frequently insisted on, That allowing such a liberty, would be, to *establish iniquity by a law* *. Many of these writings are yet to be seen; and, I hear, have been quoted by the doctor above-mentioned.

As to their great objection of prostituting that holy institution, the blessed sacrament, by way of a test before admittance into any employment; I

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* See many hundred quotations to prove this, in the treatise called, *Scotch presbyterian Eloquence*.

ask, whether they would not be content to receive it, *after their own manner*, for the office of a judge, for that of a commissioner in the revenue, for a regiment of horse, or to be a lord justice. I believe they would scruple it as little, as a long grace before and after dinner, which they can say without *bending a knee*; for as I have been told, their manner of taking bread and wine in their conventicles, is performed with little more solemnity than at their common meals. And therefore, since they look upon our practice in receiving the elements to be idolatrous, they neither can, nor ought in conscience to allow us that liberty, otherwise than by connivance, and a bare toleration, like what is permitted to the *papists*. *But lest we should offend them*, I am ready to change this test for another; although I am afraid, that sanctified reason is by no means the point where the difficulty pinches, and is only offered by pretended churchmen; as if they could be content with our believing that the impiety and profanation of making the sacrament a test, were the only objection. I therefore propose, that before the present law be repealed, another may be enacted, That no man shall receive any employment, before he swears himself to be a true member of the church of Ireland, in doctrine and discipline, &c. and that he will never frequent or communicate with any other form of worship. It shall likewise be further enacted, that whoever offends, &c. shall be fined five hundred pounds, imprisoned for a year and a day, and rendered incapable of all

all public trust for ever. Otherwise, I do insist, that those pious, indulgent, external professors of our national religion shall either give up that fallacious hypocritical reason for taking off the test, or freely confess, that they desire to have a gate wide open for every sect, without any test at all, except that of swearing loyalty to the king: which, however, considering their principles with regard to monarchy yet unrenounced, might, if they would please to look deep enough into their own hearts, prove a more bitter test, than any other that the law hath yet invented.

For from the first time that these sectaries appeared in the world, it hath been always found by their whole proceedings, that they professed an utter hatred to kingly government. I can recollect at present three civil establishments, where Calvinists, and some other reformers who rejected *episcopacy*, possess the supreme power; and these are all republics; I mean, Holland, Geneva, and the reformed Swiss cantons. I do not say this in diminution or disgrace to commonwealths; wherein I confess I have much altered many opinions under which I was educated, having been led by some observation, long experience, and a thorough detestation for the corruptions of mankind: insomuch, that I am now justly liable to the censure of Hobbes, who complains, that the youth of England imbibe ill opinions from reading the histories of ancient Greece and Rome, those renowned scenes of liberty and every virtue.

But as to monarchs, who must be supposed well to study and understand their own interest; they will best consider, whether those people, who in all their actions, preachings and writings, have openly declared themselves against regal power, are to be safely placed in an equal degree of favour and trust with those, who have been always found the true and only friends to the English establishment. From which consideration, I could have added one more article to my new test, if I had thought it worth my time.

I have been assured by some persons who were present, that several of these dissenting teachers, upon their first arrival hither to solicit the repeal of the test, were pleased to express their gratitude, by publicly drinking the healths of certain eminent patrons, whom they pretend to have found among us. If this be true, and that the test must be delivered up by the very *superiors appointed to defend it*; the affair is already in effect at an end. What *secret* reasons those patrons may have given for such a return of brotherly love, I shall not enquire: *for, O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united. For in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall. Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.*

The

The ADVANTAGES proposed by repealing the SACRAMENTAL TEST, impartially considered.

Written in the year 1732.

WHOEVER writes impartially upon this subject, must do it not only as a mere secular man, but as one who is altogether indifferent to any particular system of christianity. And I think, in whatever country that religion predominates, there is one certain form of worship and ceremony, which is looked upon as the established; and consequently, only the priests of that particular form are maintained at the public charge; and all civil employments bestowed among those, who comply (at least outwardly) with the same establishment.

This method is strictly observed, even by our neighbours the Dutch, who are confessed to allow the fullest liberty of conscience of any christian state; and yet are never known to admit any persons into civil offices, who do not conform to the legal worship. As to their military men, they are indeed not so scrupulous; being by the nature of their government under a necessity of hiring foreign troops, of whatever religious denomination, upon every great emergency, and maintaining no small number in time of peace.

This caution, therefore, of making one esta-

blished faith, seems to be universal, and founded upon the strongest reasons; the mistaken or affected zeal of obstinacy and enthusiasm having produced such a number of horrible destructive events throughout all Christendom. For, whoever begins to think the national worship is wrong in any important article of practice or belief, will, if he be serious, naturally have a zeal to make as many profelytes as he can: and a nation may possibly have an hundred different sects, with their leaders; every one of which hath an equal right to plead, that they must *obey God rather than man*; must *cry aloud and spare not*; must *lift up their voice like a trumpet*.

This was the very case of England during the fanatic times. And against all this, there seems to be no defence, but that of supporting one established form of doctrine and discipline; leaving the rest to a bare liberty of conscience, but without any maintenance or encouragement from the public.

Wherever this national religion grows so corrupt, or is thought to do so by a very great majority of landed people joined to the governing party, whether prince or senate, or both, it ought to be changed; provided the work might be done without blood or confusion. Yet, whenever such a change shall be made, some other establishment must succeed, although for the worse; allowing all deviations, that would break the union, to be only tolerated. In this sense, those who affirm that every law, which is contrary to the law of God,

God, is void in itself, seem to be mistaken: for many laws in *popish* kingdoms and states, many more among the Turks, and perhaps not a few in other countries, are directly against the divine laws; and yet, God knows, are very far from being void in the executive part.

Thus for instance, if the three estates of parliament in England (whereof the lords spiritual, who represent the *church*, are one) should agree and obtain the royal assent to abolish episcopacy, together with the liturgy, and the whole frame of the English church, as *burthenfome, dangerous, and contrary to holy scripture*; and that *presbytery, anabaptism, quakerism, independency, muggletonianism, brownism, familism*, or any other subdivided sect among us, should be established in its place, without question all peaceable subjects ought passively to submit; and the predominant sect must become the religion established; the public maintaining no other teachers not admitting any persons of a different religious profession into civil offices, at least if their intention be to preserve the nation in peace.

Supposing then, that the present system of religion were abolished; and *presbytery*, which I find stands the fairest, with its synods and classes, and all its forms and ceremonies essential or circumstantial, were erected into the national worship; their teachers, and no others, could have any legal claim to be supported at the public charge, whether by stipends or tythes, and only the

the rest of the same faith to be capable of civil employments.

If there be any true reasoning in what I have laid down, it should seem that the project now in agitation for repealing the *test act*, and yet leaving the name of an establishment to the present national church, is altogether inconsistent; and may admit of consequences, which those who are the most indifferent to any religion at all, are possibly not aware of.

I presume, whenever the *test* shall be repealed, which obliges all men, who enter into office under the crown, to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of Ireland; the way to employments will immediately be left open to all *dissenters* (except *papists*) whose consciences can suffer them to take the common oaths in such cases prescribed; after which, they are qualified to fill any lay-station in this kingdom, from that of chief governor to an excise-man.

Thus, of the three judges on each bench, the first may be a *presbyterian*, the second a *free-will baptist*, and the third a *church-man*; the lord chancellor may be an *independent*; the revenues may be managed by seven commissioners of as many different sects; and the like of all other employments: not to mention the strong probability, that the lawfulness of taking oaths may be *revealed* to the quakers, who then will stand upon as good a foot for preferment, as any other loyal subjects. It is obvious to imagine, under such a motley administration of affairs, what a clashing there will be of

of interest and inclinations; what pullings and hawlings backwards and forwards; what a zeal and bias in each religionist to advance his own tribe, and depress the others. For I suppose nothing will be readier granted, than that, how indifferent soever most men are in faith and morals, yet, whether out of artifice, natural complexion, or love of contradiction, none are more obstinate in maintaining their own opinions, and worrying all who differ from them, than those who publicly shew the least sense either of religion or common honesty.

As to the latter, bishop Burnet tells us, that the *presbyterians* in the fanatic times professed themselves to be above morality; which, as we find in some of their writings, was numbered among the *beggarly elements*; and accordingly, at this day, no scruples of conscience with regard to conformity are in any trade or calling inconsistent with the greatest fraud, oppression, perjury, or any other vice.

This brings to my memory a passage in Montaigne, of a common prostitute, who in the storming of a town, when a soldier came up to her chamber and offered violence to her chastity, rather chose to venture her neck by leaping out of the window than suffer a rape; yet still continued her trade of lewdness, while she had any customers left.

I confess, that in my private judgement an unlimited permission of all sects whatsoever (except *papists*) to enjoy employments, would be less pernicious

pernicious to the public, than a fair struggle between two contenders; because, in the former case, such a jumble of principles might possibly have the effect of contrary poisons mingled together; which a strong constitution might perhaps be able for some time to survive.

But, however, I shall take the other and more probable supposition, that this battle for employments is to be fought only between the presbyterians, and those of the church yet established. I shall not enter into the merits of either side, by examining, which of the two is the better spiritual œconomy, or which is most suited to our civil constitution: but the question turns upon this point; when the presbyterians shall have got their share of employments, (which must be one full half, or else they cannot look upon themselves as fairly dealt with) I ask, whether they ought not, by their own principles, and by the strictest rules of conscience, to use the utmost of their skill, power and influence, in order to reduce the whole kingdom to an uniformity in religion, both as to doctrine and discipline most agreeable to the word of God. Wherein if they can succeed without blood (as under the present disposition of things it is very possible they may) it is to be hoped they will at least be satisfied: only I would warn them of a few difficulties. The first is, of compromising among themselves that important controversy about the old light and the new; which otherwise may after this establishment split them as wide as papist and protestant, whig

whig and tory, or churchman and dissenter; and consequently the work will be to begin again: for in religious quarrels, it is of little moment, how few or small the differences are; especially when the dispute is only about power. Thus the zealous presbyterians of the North are more alienated from the established clergy, than from the Romish priests; taxing the former with idolatrous worship, as disguised papists, ceremony-mongers, and many other terms of art; and this for a very powerful reason; because the clergy stand in their way, which the popish priests do not. Thus I am assured, that the quarrel between old and new light-men is managed with more rage and rancour, than any other dispute of the highest importance; and this, because it serves to lessen or increase their several congregations, from whom they receive their contributions.

Another difficulty, which may embarrass the presbyterians after their establishments, will be, how to adjust their claim of the *kirk's* independency on the civil power, with the constitution of this monarchy; a point so delicate, that it hath often filled the heads of great patriots with dangerous notions of the church-clergy, without the least ground of suspicion.

As to the presbyterians allowing liberty of conscience to those of episcopal principles when their own *kirk* shall be predominant; their writers are so universally agreed in the negative, as well as their practice during Oliver's reign, that I believe no
reasonable

reasonable churchman (who must then be a dissenter) will expect it.

I shall here take notice, that in the division of employments among the presbyterians, after this approaching repeal of the test-act, supposing them in proper time to have an equal share, the odds will be three or four to one on their side in any farther scheme they may have towards making their religion national. For, I reckon all those gentlemen sent over from England, whatever religion they profess or have been educated in, to be of that party: since it is no mark of prudence for any persons to oppose the current of a nation, where they are in some sort only sojourners; unless they have it in direction.

If there be any maxim in politics not to be controlled, it must be the following: That those whose private interest is united with the interest of their country, supposing them to be of equal understanding with the rest of their neighbours, will heartily wish, that the nation should thrive. Out of these are indubitably excepted all persons, who are sent from another kingdom to be employed in places of profit or power; because they cannot possibly bear any affection to the place where they sojourn, even for life; their sole business being to advance themselves by following the advice of their *principals*. I except likewise those persons, who are taken into offices, although natives of the land; because they are greater gainers while they keep their offices, than they could

could possibly be by mending the miserable condition of their country.

I except, *thirdly*, all hoppers, who by balancing accounts with themselves, turn the scale on the same side; because the strong expectation of a good certain salary, will outweigh the loss by bad rents received out of lands in moneyless times.

If my lords the bishops, who I hear are now employed in a scheme for regulating the conduct and maintenance of the inferior clergy, shall, in their wisdom and piety, and love of the church, consent to this repeal of the *test*, I have not the least doubt, that the whole reverend body will cheerfully submit to their spiritual fathers; of whose paternal tenderness for their welfare they have already found so many *amazing* instances.

I am not therefore under the least concern about the clergy on this account. They will (*for some time*) be no great sufferers by this repeal; because I cannot recollect among all our sects any one, that giveth latitude enough to take the oaths required at an institution to a church-living; and until that bar shall be removed, the present episcopal clergy are safe for two years. Although it may be thought somewhat unequal, that in the *northern* parts, where there may be three *dissenters* to one *churchman*, the whole revenue shall be engrossed by him who hath so small a part of the cure.

It is true indeed, that this disadvantage, which the *dissenters* at present lie under, of a disability

to receive church-preferments, will be easily remedied by the repeal of the *test*. For the *dissenting* teachers are under no incapacity of accepting civil and military employments, wherein they agree perfectly with the *popish* clergy; among whom great cardinals and prelates have been commanders of armies, chief ministers, knights of many orders, ambassadors, secretaries of state, and in most high offices under the crown; although they assert the *indelible character*, which no sectaries among us did ever assume. But that many, both *presbyterians* and *independents*, commanders as well as private soldiers, were professed preachers in the time of their dominion, is allowed by all. Cromwell himself was a preacher; and hath left us one of his sermons in print, exactly in the same style and manner with those of our modern *presbyterian* teachers: so was colonel Howard, Sir George Downing, and several others whose names are on record. I can therefore see no reason, why a painful *presbyterian* teacher, as soon as the *test* shall be repealed, may not be privileged to hold, along with the spiritual office and stipend, a commission in the army or the civil list in *commendam*: for, as I take it, the church of England is the only body of *Christians*, which in effect disqualifies those, who are employed to preach its doctrine, from sharing in the civil power, farther than as senators: yet this was a privilege begun in times of *popery*, many hundred years before the *reformation*, and wo-

ven

ven with the very institution of our limited monarchy.

There is indeed another method, whereby the stipends of dissenting teachers may be raised, and the farmer much relieved; if it should be thought proper to reward a people so deserving, and so loyal by their principles. Every bishop, upon the vacancy of a church-living, can sequester the profits for the use of the next incumbent. Upon a lapse of half a year, the donation falls to the archbishop, and after a full year to the crown, during pleasure. Therefore it would be no hardship for any clergyman *alive*, if (in those parts of Ireland, where the number of sectaries much exceeds that of the conformists) the profits, when sequestered, might be applied to the support of the dissenting teacher, who hath so many souls to take care of; whereby the poor tenants would be much relieved in those hard times, and in a better condition to pay their rents.

But there is another difficulty in this matter, against which a remedy doth not so readily occur. For supposing the *test-act* repealed, and the dissenters in consequence fully qualified for all secular employments; the question may still be put, whether those of Ireland will be often the persons on whom they shall be bestowed; because it is imagined, there may be * another *seminary* in view, *more numerous* and *more needy*, as well as *more meriting*; and more easily contented with such low offices; which some nearer neighbours

B b 2 hardly

* Scotland.

hardly think it worth stirring from their chimney-sides to obtain. And I am told, it is the common practice of those who are skilled in the management of bees, that when they see a foreign swarm at some distance, approaching with an intention to plunder their hives, these artists have a trick to divert them into some neighbouring apiary, there to make what havock they please. This I should not have hinted, if I had not known it already to have gotten ground in many suspecting heads; for it is the peculiar talent of this nation to see dangers afar off: to all which I can only say, that our native *presbyterians* must by pains and industry raise such a fund of *merit*, as will answer to a birth six degrees more to the North. If they cannot arrive at this perfection, as several of the established church have compassed by indefatigable pains, I do not well see, how their affairs will much mend by repealing the *test*: for to be qualified by law to accept an employment, and yet to be disqualified in fact, as it will much increase the mortification, so it will withdraw the pity of many among their well-wishers, and utterly deprive them of that *merit* they have so long made, of being a loyal, *true protestant* people, persecuted only for religion.

If this happen to be their case, they must wait maturity of time; until they can, by prudent, gentle steps, make their faith become the religion established in the nation: after which, I do not in the least doubt, that they will take the most effectual methods to secure their power against those,

those, who must then be *dissenters* in their turn; whereof, if we may form a future opinion from present times, and the dispositions of *dissenters*, who love to make a *thorough reformation*, the number and qualities will be very inconsiderable.

Thus I have, with the utmost sincerity, after long thinking, given my judgment upon this arduous affair; but with the utmost deference and submission to public wisdom and power.

Bb 3

QUERIES

QUERIES relating to the SACRAMENTAL TEST.

Written in the year 1732.

QUERY, WHETHER hatred and violence between parties in a state be not more inflamed by different views of interest, than by the greater or lesser differences between them, either in religion or government?

Whether it be any part of the question at this time, which of the two religions is worse, *popery* or *fanaticism*; or not rather, which of the two (having both the same good will) is in the hopefullest condition to ruin the church?

Whether the sectaries, whenever they come to prevail, will not ruin the church as infallibly and effectually as the *papists*?

Whether the prevailing sectaries could allow liberty of conscience to *dissenters*, without belying all their former practice, and almost all their former writings?

Whether many hundred thousand Scotch presbyterians are not full as virulent against the episcopal church, as they are against the *papists*; or as they would have us think the *papists* are against them?

Whether the Dutch, who are most distinguished for allowing liberty of conscience, do ever admit any persons, who profess a different scheme of worship from their own, into civil employments, although they *may* be forced by the nature of their government to receive mercenary troops of all religions?

Whether

Whether the *dissenters* ever pretended, until of late years, to desire more than a bare toleration?

Whether, if it be true, what a sorry pamphleteer asserts, who lately writ for repealing the *test*, that the *dissenters* in this kingdom are equally numerous with the churchmen, it would not be a necessary point of prudence by all proper and lawful means to prevent their further increase?

The great argument given by those, whom they call *low* churchmen, to justify the large tolerations allowed to *dissenters* hath been, that by such indulgencies the rancour of those sectaries would gradually wear off, many of them would come over to us, and their parties in a little time crumble to nothing.

Query, Whether, if what the above pamphleteer asserts, that the sectaries are equal in numbers with conformists be true, it doth not clearly follow, that those repeated tolerations have operated directly contrary to what those *low* church politicians pretended to foresee and expect?

Whether any clergyman, however dignified or distinguished, if he think his own profession most agreeable to holy scripture and the primitive church, can really wish in his heart, that all sectaries should be upon an equal foot with the churchmen in the point of civil power and employments?

Whether episcopacy, which is held by the church to be a divine and apostolical institution, be not a fundamental point of religion, particularly in that essential one of conferring holy orders?

Whether

Whether by necessary consequences the several expedients among the sectaries to constitute their teachers are not absolutely null and void?

Whether the sectaries will ever agree to accept ordination only from bishops?

Whether the bishops and clergy will be content to give up episcopacy, as a point indifferent, without which the church can well subsist?

Whether that great tenderness towards sectaries, which now so much prevails, be chiefly owing to the fears of *popery*, or to that spirit of Atheism, Deism, Scepticism, and universal immorality, which all good men so much lament?

Granting *popery* to have many more errors in religion than any one branch of the sectaries, let us examine the actions of both, as they have each affected the peace of these kingdoms, with allowance for the short time which the sectaries had to act in, who are in a manner *but of yesterday*. The *papists*, in the time of king James II. used all endeavours to establish their superstition, wherein they failed by the united power of English church-protestants with the prince of Orange's assistance. But it cannot be asserted, that these bigotted *papists* had the least design to oppose or murder the king, much less to abolish kingly government; nor was it their interest or inclination to attempt either.

On the other side, the Puritans, who had almost from the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign been a perpetual thorn in the church's side, joining with the Scotch enthusiasts in the time of king Charles the first, were the principal cause of
the

the Irish *rebellion* and *massacre*, by distressing that prince, and making it impossible for him to send over timely succours. And after that pious prince had satisfied his parliament in every single point to be complained of, the same sectaries, by poisoning the minds and affections of the people with the most false and wicked representations of their king, were able, in the compass of a few years, to embroil the three nations in a bloody rebellion at the expence of many thousand lives; to turn the kingly power into anarchy; to murder their prince in the face of the world, and (in their own style) to destroy the church *root and branch*.

The account, therefore, stands thus: The *papists* aimed at one pernicious act, which was, to destroy the *protestant* religion; wherein, by God's mercy, and the assistance of our glorious king William, they absolutely failed. The sectaries attempted the three most infernal actions that could possibly enter into the hearts of men forsaken by God; which were, the murder of a most pious king, the destruction of the monarchy, and the extirpation of the church; and succeeded in them all.

Upon which I put the following queries: Whether any of those sectaries have ever yet, in a solemn public manner, renounced any one of those principles, upon which their predecessors then acted?

Whether, considering the cruel persecutions of the episcopal church, during the course of that horrid rebellion, and the consequences of it, un-
til

til the happy *restoration*, it is not manifest, that the persecuting spirit lies so equally divided between the *papists* and the sectaries, that a feather would turn the balance on either side?

And therefore, lastly, Whether any person of common understanding, who professeth himself a member of the church established, although, perhaps, with little inward regard to any religion, (which is too often the case) if he loves the peace and welfare of his country, can, after cool thinking, rejoice to see a power placed again in the hands of so restless, so ambitious, and so merciless a faction, to act over all the same parts a second time?

Whether the candour of that expression, so frequent, of late, in sermons and pamphlets, of the *strength and number of the papists in Ireland*, can be justified? For, as to their number, however great, it is always magnified, in proportion to the zeal or politics of the speaker and writer; but, it is a gross imposition upon common reason, to terrify us with their strength. For *popery*, under the circumstances it lies in this kingdom, although it be offensive and inconvenient enough, from the consequences it hath to encrease the rapine, sloth, and ignorance, as well as poverty of the natives, is not properly dangerous in that sense, as some would have us take it; because it is universally hated by every party of a different religious profession. It is the contempt of the wise; the best topic for clamours of designing men; but the real terror only of fools. The landed *popish* interest

terest in England far exceeds that among us, even in proportion to the wealth and extent of each kingdom. The little that remains here, is daily dropping into *protestant* hands, by purchase or descent; and that affected complaint of counterfeit converts, will fall, with the cause of it, in half a generation, unless it be raised or kept alive as a continual fund of merit and eloquence. The *papists* are wholly disarmed: they have neither courage, leaders, money, or inclinations to rebel: they want every advantage, which they formerly possessed, to follow that trade; and wherein, even with those advantages, they always miscarried: they appear very easy and satisfied under that connivance, which they enjoyed during the whole last reign; nor even scrupled to reproach another party, under which they pretend to have suffered so much severity.

Upon these considerations, I must confess to have suspended much of my pity towards the great dreaders of *popery*: many of whom appear to be hale, strong, active young men; who, as I am told, eat, drink, and sleep heartily; and are very chearful (as they have exceeding good reason) upon all other subjects. However, I cannot too much commend the generous concern which our neighbours, and others who come from the same neighbourhood, are so kind to express for us upon this account; although the former be farther removed from the danger of *popery*, by twenty leagues of salt water: but this, I fear, is a digression.

When

When an artificial report was raised here, many years ago, of an intended invasion by the *pretender*, (which blew over, after it had done its office) the *dissenters* argued, in their talk and in their pamphlets, after this manner, applying themselves to those of the church: Gentlemen, if the *pretender* had landed, as the law now stands, we durst not assist you; and therefore, unless you take off the *test*, whenever you shall happen to be invaded in earnest, if we are desired to take up arms in your defence, our answer shall be, Pray, gentlemen, fight your own battles; we will ly by quietly; conquer your enemies by yourselves, if you can; we will not do your drudgery. This way of reasoning I have heard from several of their chiefs and abettors, in an hundred conversations; and have read it in twenty pamphlets: and I am confident it will be offered again, if the project should fail to take off the *test*.

Upon which piece of oratory and reasoning I form the following query: Whether, in case of an invasion from the *pretender*, (which is not quite so probable as from the *grand signior*) the *dissenters* can, with prudence and safety, offer the same plea; except they shall have made a previous stipulation with the invaders? And, whether the full freedom of their religion and trade, their lives, properties, wives and children, are not, and have not always been reckoned, sufficient motives for repelling invasions; especially in our sectaries, who call themselves the *truest protestants*, by virtue of their pretended or real fierceness against *popery*?

Whether

Whether omitting or neglecting to celebrate the day of the martyrdom of the blessed king Charles the first, enjoined by act of parliament, can be justly reckoned a particular and distinguishing mark of good affection to the present government?

Whether, in those churches, where the said day is observed, it will fully answer the intent of the said act, if the preacher shall commend, excuse, palliate, or extenuate the murder of that royal martyr; and place the guilt of that horrid rebellion, with all its consequences, the following usurpations, the entire destruction of the church, the cruel and continual persecutions of those who could be discovered to profess its doctrines, with the ensuing Babel of fanaticism, to the account of that blessed king, who, by granting the petition of right, and passing every bill that could be asked for the security of the subject, had, by the confession of those wicked men, before the war began, left them nothing more to demand?

Whether such a preacher as I have named, (whereof there have been more than *one*, not many years past, even in the presence of vice-roys) who takes that course as a means for promotion, may not be thought to step a little out of the common road in a monarchy, where the descendents of that most blessed martyr have reigned to this day?

I ground the reason of making these queries on the title of the act; to which I refer the reader.

REASONS humbly offered to the Parliament
of Ireland, for repealing the SACRAMEN-
TAL TEST, in favour of the CATHO-
LICS. *

Written in the year 1732.

IT is well known, that the first conquerors of
this kingdom were English *catholics*, subjects
to English *catholic* kings, from whom, by their
valour and success, they obtained large portions
of land, given them as a reward for their many
victories over the Irish: to which merit, our *bre-
thren*, the dissenters of any denomination whatso-
ever, have not the least pretensions.

It

In the years 1732 and 1733, an attempt was made for re-
pealing the *test-act* in Ireland, introductory of a like attempt in
England. The various arguments for it were answered in eve-
ry shape: but no way more effectually, than by examining what
pretence the presbyterians had to share in all the privileges of
government, either from their own principles and behaviour, or
compared with those of other sectaries. Under the former head,
they were fully silenced by our author, in *The presbyterians plea
of merit impartially examined* [above, p. 257.] They are now
put in the balance with papists, whom, although they have some-
times styled their brethren in adversity, yet, when placed in
competition, they will hate as brethren likewise. But let them
here dispute the preference, and then put in their claim to be a
part of their establishment.

* The author having before examined the presbyterians plea
of merit, with respect to their own principles and practices,
has, in this tract, put them in the balance against papists.
Hawkes.

This

It is confessed, that the posterity of those first victorious *catholics*, were often forced to rise in their own defence, against new colonies from England, who treated them like mere native Irish, with innumerable oppressions, depriving them of their lands, and driving them, by force of arms, into the most desolate parts of the kingdom; till in the next generation, the children of these tyrants were used in the same manner, by new English adventurers, which practice continued for many centuries. But it is agreed on all hands, that no insurrections were ever made, except after great oppressions by fresh invaders. Whereas all the rebellions of *puritans*, *presbyterians*, *independents*, and other sectaries, constantly began before any provocations were given, except that they were not suffered to change the government in church and state, and seize both into their own hands; which however at last they did, with the

C c 2 murder

This tract is written under the assumed character of a Roman Catholic; by which means, the author attacks his adversaries with a great advantage. He freely acknowledges the several atrocious crimes of the papists; but, at the same time, palliates them so skilfully, that, from that very acknowledgement, he enables himself to aim the heavier blows at the presbyterians. A paragraph extracted from the pamphlet will exemplify my meaning. [Here the particular passage is quoted, beginning thus, "We allow the CATHOLICS to be BRETHREN of the dissenters," &c. p. 307. l. 31. ending p. 308. l. 26.]—The greatest art, and the keenest strokes of irony, display themselves throughout the whole composition: and the conclusion of it is drawn up with a mixture of serious and ironical arguments, that seem to defy all kinds of refutation. *Errery.*

murder of their king, and of many thousands of his best subjects.

The *catholics* were always defenders of monarchy, as constituted in these kingdoms; whereas, our *brethren* the *dissenters* were always republicans, both in principle and practice.

It is well known, that all the *catholics* of these kingdoms, both priests and laity, are true *whigs*, in the best and most proper sense of the word; bearing as well in their hearts, as in their outward profession, an entire loyalty to the royal house of Hanover, in the person and posterity of George II. against the *pretender* and all his *adherents*. To which they think themselves bound in gratitude, as well as conscience, by the lenity wherewith they have been treated since the death of queen Anne, so different from what they suffered in the four last years of that princess, during the administration of that *wicked* minister, the earl of Oxford.

The *catholics* of this kingdom humbly hope, that they have at least as fair a title as any of their *brother dissenters* to the appellation of *protestants*. They have always *protested* against the felling, dethroning, or murdering their kings; against the usurpations and avarice of the *court* of Rome; against *deism*, *atheism*, *Socinianism*, *quakerism*, *Muggletonianism*, *fanaticism*, *Brownism*, as well as against all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics. Whereas the title of *protestants* assumed by the whole herd of dissenters (except ourselves) dependeth entirely upon their *protesting against arch-*
bishops,

*bishops, bishops, deans and chapters, with their revenues; and the whole hierarchy; which are the very expressions used in the solemn league and covenant, ** where the word *popery* is only mentioned *ad invidiam*; because the *catholics* agree with the episcopal church in those fundamentals.

Although the *catholics* cannot deny, that in the great rebellion against king Charles I. more soldiers of their religion were in the parliament army than in his majesty's troops; and that many jesuits and friars went about in the disguise of *presbyterian* and *independent* ministers to preach up rebellion, as the best historians of those times inform us; yet the bulk of *catholics* in both kingdoms preserved their loyalty entire.

The *catholics* have some reason to think it a little hard, when their enemies will not please to distinguish between the rebellious riot committed by that brutal ruffian Sir Phelim O'Neal with his tumultuous crew of rabble, and the forces raised afterwards by the *catholic* lords and gentlemen of the English pale in defence of the king, after the English rebellion began. It is well known, that his majesty's affairs were in great distraction some time before by an invasion of the *covenanting* Scottish *kirk* rebels, and by the base terms the king

C c 3 was.

* A solemn league and covenant entered into between the Scots and English fanatics in the rebellion against King Charles I. 1643. by which they solemnly engaged, among other things, "to endeavour the extirpation of prelacy, that is, church government by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and all other episcopal officers depending on that hierarchy." *Hawkes.*

was forced to accept, that they might be kept in quiet at a juncture when he was every hour threatened at home by that fanatic party, which soon after set all in a flame. And if the *catholic* army in Ireland fought for their king against the forces sent over by the parliament then in actual rebellion against him, what person of loyal principles can be so partial to deny, that they did their duty by joining with the Marquis of Ormond and other commanders, who bore their commissions from the king? for which great numbers of them lost their lives, and forfeited their estates; a great part of the latter being now possessed by many descendants from those very men, who had drawn their swords in the service of that rebellious parliament which cut off his head, and destroyed monarchy. And, what is more amazing, although the same persons, when the Irish were intirely subdued, continued in power under the *rump*, were chief confidents, and faithful subjects to Cromwell; yet being wise enough to foresee a *restoration*, they seized the forts and castles here out of the hands of their *old brethren in rebellion*, for the service of the king; just saving the tide, and putting in a stock of merit sufficient not only to preserve the land which the *catholics* lost by their loyalty, but likewise to preserve their civil and military employments, or be higher advanced.

Those insurrections wherewith the *catholics* are charged, from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the great English rebellion, were occasioned

caſioned by many oppreſſions they lay under. They had no intention to introduce a *new* religion, but to enjoy the liberty of preſerving the *old* : the very ſame which their anceſtors profeſſed from the time that *chriſtianity* was firſt introduced into this iſland, which was by *catholics* ; but whether mingled with corruptions, as ſome pretend, doth not belong to the queſtion. They had no deſign to change the government ; they never attempted to fight againſt, to imprifon, to betray, to ſell, to bring to a trial, or to murder their king. The ſchiſmatics acted by a ſpirit directly contrary ; they united in a *ſolemn league and covenant* to alter the whole ſyſtem of ſpiritual government eſta- bliſhed in all *chriſtian* nations, and of apoſtolic inſtitution ; concluding the tragedy with the murder of the king in cold blood, and upon mature deliberation ; at the ſame time changing the monarchy into a commonwealth.

The *catholics* of Ireland in the great rebellion loſt their eſtates for fighting in defence of their king. The ſchiſmatics, who cut off the father's head, forced the ſon to fly for his life, and overturned the whole ancient frame of government, religious and civil ; obtained grants of thoſe very eſtates, which the *catholics* loſt in defence of the antient conſtitution, many of which eſtates are at this day poſſeſſed by the poſterity of thoſe ſchiſmatics : and thus they gained by their *rebellion* ; what the *catholics* loſt by their *loyalty*.

We allow the *catholics* to be *brethren* of the diſſenters ; ſome people, indeed, (which we cannot

not allow) would have *them* to be our children, because *we* both dissent from the church established, and both agree in abolishing this persecuting sacramental test; by which *negative discouragement* we are both rendered incapable of civil and military employments. However, we cannot but wonder at the bold familiarity of these schismatics, in calling the members of the national church their *brethren* and *fellow protestants*. It is true, that all these sects (except the *catholics*) are *brethren* to each other in faction, ignorance, iniquity, perverseness, pride, and (if we except the *quakers*) in rebellion. But, how the church-men can be stiled their *fellow protestants*, we cannot comprehend: because, when the whole Babel of sectaries joined against the church, the king, and the nobility, for twenty years, in a MATCH AT FOOT-BALL, where the proverb expressly tells us, that *all are FELLOWS*; while the three kingdoms were tossed to and fro, the churches and cities, and royal palaces, shattered to pieces by their *balls*, their *buffets*, and their *kicks*; the victors would allow no more FELLOWS AT FOOT-BALL; but murdered, sequestered, plundered, deprived, banished to the plantations, or enslaved all their opposers who had *lost the game*.

It is said the world is governed by *opinion*; and politicians assure us, that all power is founded thereupon. Wherefore, as all human creatures are fond to distraction of their own opinions, and so much the more, as those opinions are absurd, ridiculous, or of little moment, it must follow, that

that they are equally fond of power. But no opinions are maintained with so much obstinacy as those in religion, especially by such zealots, who never bore the least regard to religion, conscience, honour, justice, truth, mercy, or common morality, farther than in outward appearance, under the mask of hypocrisy, to promote their diabolical designs. And therefore, Bishop Burnet, one of their oracles, tells us honestly, that the *saints* of those fanatic times pronounced themselves above morality; which they reckoned among *beggarly elements*; but the meaning of these two last words, thus applied, we confess to be above our understanding.

Among those kingdoms and states which first embraced the reformation, England appears to have received it in the most regular way; where it was introduced in a peaceable manner, by the supreme power of a king, * and the three estates in parliament; to which, as the highest legislative authority, all subjects are bound passively to submit. Neither was there much bloodshed on so great a change of religion. But a considerable number of lords, and other persons of quality through the kingdom, still continued in their old faith, and were, notwithstanding their difference in religion, employed in offices, civil as well as military, more or less in every reign, until the test act in the time of king Charles II. However, from the time of the reformation, the number of *catholics* gradually and considerably lessened. So that,

* Henry VIII.

that, in the reign of king Charles I. England became in a great degree a protestant kingdom, without taking the sectaries into the number; the legality whereof, with respect to human laws, the *catholics* never disputed; but the *puritans*, and other schismatics, without the least pretence to any such authority, by an open rebellion, destroyed that legal reformation, as we observed before, murdered their king, and changed the monarchy into a republic. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if the *catholics*, in such a Babel of religions, chose to adhere to their own faith left them by their ancestors, rather than seek for a better among a rabble of hypocritical, rebellious, deluding knaves, or deluded enthusiasts.

We repeat once more, That if a national religion be changed by the supreme legislative power, we cannot dispute the human legality of such a change. But we humbly conceive, that if any considerable party of men which differs from an establishment, either old or new, can deserve liberty of conscience, it ought to consist of those, who, for want of conviction, or of right understanding the merits of each cause, conceive themselves bound in conscience to adhere to the religion of their ancestors; because they are of all others least likely to be authors of innovations either in church or state.

On the other side: if the reformation of religion be founded upon rebellion against the king, without whose consent, by the nature of our constitution, no law can pass; if this reformation be introduced

introduced by only one of the three estates, I mean the commons, and not by one half even of those commons, and this by the assistance of a rebellious army; again, if this reformation were carried on by the exclusion of nobles both lay and spiritual, (who constitute the other part of the three estates) by the murder of their king, and by abolishing the whole system of government; the *catholics* cannot see why the successors of those schismatics, who are universally accused by all parties except themselves, and a few infamous abettors, for still retaining the same principles in religion and government, under which their predecessors acted, should pretend to a better share of civil or military trust, profit, and power, than the *catholics*, who during all that period of twenty years, were continually persecuted with the utmost severity, merely on account of their loyalty and constant adherence to kingly power.

We now come to those arguments for repealing the sacramental test, which equally affect the *catholics*, and their brethren the dissenters.

First, we agree with our fellow-dissenters, that * *persecution merely for conscience' sake is against the genius of the gospel.* And so likewise is *any law for depriving men of their natural and civil rights, which they claim as men.* We are also ready enough to allow, that *the smallest negative discouragements for uniformity's sake are so many persecutions.* Because, it cannot be denied, that the scratch of a pin is in some degree a real wound,
as

* *Vid.* Reasons for the repeal of the sacramental test.

as much as a stab through the heart. In like manner, an incapacity by law for any man to be made a judge, a colonel, or justice of the peace, *merely on a point of conscience, is a negative discouragement*, and consequently a real persecution: for in this case, the author of the pamphlet quoted in the * margin, puts a very pertinent and powerful question: *If God be the sole Lord of the conscience, why should the rights of conscience be subject to human jurisdiction?* Now, to apply this to the catholics: The belief of transubstantiation is a matter purely of religion and conscience, which doth not affect the political interest of society, as such: therefore, *why should the rights of conscience, whereof God is the sole Lord, be subject to human jurisdiction?* And why should God be deprived of this right over a catholic's conscience, any more than over that of any other dissenter?

And whereas another author among our brethren the dissenters hath very justly complained, that by this persecuting test-act great numbers of *true protestants* have been forced to leave the kingdom and fly to the plantations, rather than stay here *branded* with an incapacity for civil and military employments; we do affirm, that the *catholics* can bring many more instances of the same kind; some thousands of their religion having been forced by the sacramental test to retire into other countries, rather than live here under the incapacity of wearing swords, sitting in parliament, and getting share of that power and profit which

* See reasons against the test.

which belong to them as *fellow christians*, whereof they are deprived *merely upon account of conscience*, which would not allow them to take the sacrament after the manner prescribed in the liturgy. Hence it clearly follows in the words of the same * author, that if *we catholics are incapable of employments, we are punished for our dissent, that is, for our conscience, which wholly turns upon political considerations.*

The *catholics* are willing to acknowledge the king's supremacy, whenever their brethren the dissenters shall please to shew them an example.

Further, the *catholics*, whenever their religion shall come to be the national established faith, are willing to undergo the same test offered by the author already quoted. His words are these: *To end this debate, by putting it upon a foot which I hope will appear to every impartial person a fair and equitable one; we catholics propose, with submission to the proper judges, that effectual security be taken against persecution, by obliging all, who are admitted into places of power and trust, whatever their religious profession be, in the most solemn manner to disclaim persecuting principles.* It is hoped the public will take notice of these words, *whatever their religious profession be*; which plainly include the *catholics*; and for which we return thanks to our dissenting brethren.

And whereas it is objected by those of the established church, that if the schismatics and fanatics were once put into a capacity of possessing

civil and military employments, they would never be at ease, till they had raised their own way of worship into the national religion through all his majesty's dominions, equal with the *true orthodox Scottish kirk*; which when they had once brought to pass, they would no more allow liberty of conscience to episcopal dissenters, than they did in the time of the great English rebellion, and in the succeeding fanatic anarchy, till the king was restored. There is another very learned schismatical * pamphleteer, who in answer to a malignant libel, called, *The presbyterian plea of merit, &c.* clearly wipes off this aspersions, by assuring all episcopal protestants of the present church, upon his own word, and to his own knowledge, that our brethren the dissenters will never offer at such an attempt. In like manner the *catholics*, when legally required, will openly declare upon their words and honours, that as soon as their *negative discouragements* and their *persecution* shall be removed by repealing the sacramental test, they will leave it entirely to the merits of the cause, whether the kingdom shall think fit to make their faith the established religion or not.

And again, whereas our *presbyterian* brethren in many of their pamphlets take much offence, that the great rebellion in England, the murder of the king, with the entire change of religion and government, are perpetually objected against them both in and out of season, by our common enemy the present conformists; we do declare in the defence

* Vindication of the Protestant Dissenters.

defence of our said brethern, that the reproach aforesaid is *an old worn-out thread-bare cant*; which they always disdained to answer: and I very well remember, that having once told a certain conformist, how much I wondered to hear him and his tribe dwelling perpetually on so beaten a subject; he was pleased to divert the discourse with a foolish story, which I cannot forbear telling to his disgrace. He said, there was a clergyman in Yorkshire, who for fifteen years together preached every Sunday against drunkenness: whereat the parishioners being much offended, complained to the archbishop; who having sent for the clergyman, and severely reprimanded him, the minister had no better an answer than by confessing the fact; adding, that all the parish were drunkards; that he desired to reclaim them from one vice, before he would begin upon another; and since they still continued to be as great drunkards as before, he resolved to go on, except his grace would please to forbid him.

We are very sensible how heavy an accusation lieth upon the *catholics* of Ireland; that some years before king Charles II. was restored, when theirs and the king's forces were entirely reduced, and the kingdom declared by the *rump* to be settled; after all his majesty's generals were forced to fly to France, or other countries, the heads of the said *catholics*, who remained here in an enslaved condition, joined to send an invitation to the Duke of Lorrain; engaging, upon his appearing here with his forces, to deliver up the whole

island to his power, and declare him their sovereign; which, after the restoration, was proved against them by dean Boyle, since primate, who produced the very original instrument at the board. The *catholics* freely acknowledge the fact to be true; and at the same time appeal to all the world, whether a wiser, a better, a more honourable, or a more justifiable project could have been thought of. They were then reduced to slavery and beggary by the English rebels, many thousands of men murdered, the rest deprived of their estates, and driven to live on a small pittance in the wilds of Connaught, at a time when either the *rump* or Cromwell absolutely governed the three kingdoms. And the question will turn upon this, whether the *catholics*, deprived of all their possessions, governed with a rod of iron, and in utter despair of ever seeing the monarchy restored, for the preservation of which they had suffered so much, were to be blamed for calling in a foreign prince of their own religion, who had a considerable army to support them, rather than submit to so infamous an usurper as Cromwell, or such a bloody and ignominious conventicle as the *rump*. And I have often heard not only our friends the dissenters, but even our common enemy the conformists, who are conversant in the history of those times, freely confess, that considering the miserable situation the Irish were then in, they could not have thought of a braver or more virtuous attempt; by which they might have been instruments of restoring the lawful monarch, at least

least to the recovery of England and Scotland, from those betrayers and sellers and murderers of his royal father.

To conclude, whereas the last quoted author complains very heavily and frequently of a BRAND that lies upon them, it is a great mistake: for the first original BRAND hath been long taken off; only we confess the scar will probably remain, and be visible for ever to those who know the principles by which they acted, and until those principles shall be openly renounced; else it must continue to all generations, like the mark set upon Cain, which some authors say descended to all his posterity; or like the Roman nose and Austrian lip, or like the long bag of flesh hanging down from the gills of the people in Piedmont. But as for any *brands* fixed on schismatics for several years past, they have been all made with *cold iron*; like thieves who by the benefit of the clergy are condemned to be only burned in the hand; but escape the pain and the mark by being in *fee* with the jailor. Which advantage the schismatical teachers will never want, who, as we are assured, and of which there is a *very fresh instance*, have the souls and bodies and purses of their people a hundred times more at their mercy, than the *catholic* priests could ever pretend to.

Therefore, upon the whole, the *catholics* do humbly petition (*without the least insinuation of threatening*) that upon this *favourable juncture* their incapacity for civil and military employments may be wholly taken off, for the very same

318 ROMAN CATHOLICS REASONS, &c.

reasons (besides others more cogent) that are now offered by their *brethren* the *dissenters*.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

Dublin, Nov. 1733.

In this controversy the author was again victorious, for the *Test* was not repealed. *Hawkes*.

Some

Some REASONS against the BILL for settling the tythe of *Hemp, Flax, &c.* by a *Modus* *.

THE clergy did little expect to have any cause of complaint against the present house of commons; who, in the last sessions, were pleased to throw out a bill † sent them from the lords, which that reverend body apprehended would be very injurious to them, if it passed into a law: and who, in the present sessions, defeated the arts and endeavours of *schismatics* to repeal the *sacramental test*.

For although it hath been allowed on all hands, that the former of those bills might, by its necessary consequences, be very displeasing to the lay-gentlemen of the kingdom for many reasons purely secular; and that this last attempt for repealing the *test* did much more affect at present the temporal interest, than the spiritual; yet the whole body of the lower clergy have, upon both those occasions, expressed equal gratitude to that honourable

* Many eminent clergymen, who opposed this scheme, applied to Dr. Swift to write against it, which he readily consented to upon their giving him some hints: and two days after, the following reasons were presented to several members of parliament, which had so good an effect that the bill was dropped. *Hawkes.*

This pamphlet is entirely adapted to the clergy of Ireland. But I cannot avoid observing in it, a greater fund of calmness, not a less degree of spirit, than in many other of Swift's political writings. *Orrery.*

† For the bishops to divide livings. *Hawkes.*

honourable house for their justice and steadiness, as if the clergy alone were to receive the benefit.

It must needs be therefore a great addition to the clergy's grief, that such an assembly as the present house of commons should now, with an expedition more than usual, agree to a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture, with a clause, whereby the church is to lose two parts in three of the legal tythe in flax and hemp.

Some reasons why the clergy think such a law will be a great hardship upon them, are, I conceive, those that follow. I shall venture to enumerate them, with all deference due to that honourable assembly.

First, the clergy suppose that they have not, by any fault or demerit, incurred the displeasure of the nation's representatives: neither can the declared loyalty of the present set, from the highest prelate to the lowest vicar, be in the least disputed: because there are hardly ten clergymen through the whole kingdom, for more than nineteen years past, who have not been either preferred entirely upon account of their declared affection to the Hanover line, or higher promoted as the due reward of the same merit.

There is not a landlord in the whole kingdom residing some part of the year at his country seat, who is not in his own conscience fully convinced, that the tythes of his minister have gradually sunk for some years past one-third, or at least one-fourth of their former value, exclusive of all non-solvencies.

The

The payment of tythes in this kingdom is subject to so many frauds, brangles, and other difficulties, not only from *papists* and *dissenters*, but even from those who profess themselves *protestants*; that by the expence, the trouble, and vexation of collecting or bargaining for them, they are of all other rents the most precarious, uncertain, and ill paid.

The landlords in most parishes expect, as a compliment, that they shall pay little more than half the value of the tythes for the lands they hold in their own hands; which often consist of large domains: and it is the minister's interest to make them easy upon that article, when he considers what influence those gentlemen have upon their tenants.

The clergy cannot but think it extremely severe, that in a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture they alone must be the sufferers, who can least afford it. If, as I am told, there be a tax of three thousand pounds a-year paid by the public for a farther encouragement to the said manufacture, are not the clergy equal sharers in the charge with the rest of their fellow-subjects? What satisfactory reason can be therefore given, why they alone should bear the whole additional weight, unless it will be alledged that their property is not upon an equal foot with the properties of other men? They acquire their own small pittance by at least as honest means as their neighbours, the landlords, possess their estates; and have been always supposed,

posed, except in rebellious or fanatical times, to have as good a title : for no families now in being can shew a more ancient. Indeed if it be true, that some persons (I hope they were not many) were seen to laugh when the rights of the clergy were mentioned ; in this case an opinion may possibly be soon advanced, that they have no rights at all. And this is likely enough to gain ground, in proportion as the contempt of all religion shall increase, which is already in a very forward way.

It is said, there will be also added in this bill, a clause for diminishing the tythe of hops, in order to cultivate that useful plant among us : and here likewise the load is to lie entirely on the shoulders of the clergy, while the landlords reap all the benefits. It will not be easy to foresee where such proceedings are like to stop : or whether by the same authority, in civil times, a parliament may not as justly challenge the same power in reducing all things tythable, not below the tenth part of the product (which is, and ever will be the clergy's equitable right) but from a tenth part to a sixtieth or eightieth, and from thence to nothing.

I have heard it granted by skilful persons, that the practice of taxing the clergy by parliament, without their own consent, is a new thing, not much above the date of seventy years ; before which period, in times of peace, they always taxed themselves. But things are extremely altered at present : it is not now sufficient to tax
them

them in common with their fellow-subjects, without imposing an additional tax upon them, from which, or from any thing equivalent, all their fellow-subjects are exempt; and this in a country professing *christianity*.

The greatest part of the clergy throughout the kingdom have been stript of their glebes by the confusion of times, by violence, fraud, oppression, and other unlawful means; all which glebes are now in the hands of the laity. So that they now are generally forced to lie at the mercy of landlords for a small piece of ground in their parishes, at a most exorbitant rent, and usually for a short term of years, whereon to build a house, and enable them to reside. Yet, in spite of these disadvantages, I am a witness, that they are generally more constant residents than their brethren in England; where the meanest vicar hath a convenient dwelling, with a barn, a garden, and a field or two for his cattle; besides the certainty of his little income from honest farmers, able and willing not only to pay him his dues, but likewise to make him presents, according to their ability, for his better support. In all which circumstances, the clergy of Ireland meet with a treatment directly contrary.

It is hoped the honourable house will consider, that it is impossible for the most ill-minded, avaricious, or cunning clergyman to do the least injustice to the meanest cottager in his parish in any bargain for tythes, or other ecclesiastical dues. He can at the utmost only demand to have his
tythe

tythe fairly laid out; and does not once in a hundred times obtain his demand. But every tenant, from the poorest cottager to the most substantial farmer, can, and generally doth, impose upon the minister, by fraud, by theft, by lies, by perjuries, by insolence, and sometimes by force; notwithstanding the utmost vigilance and skill of himself and his proctor. Insomuch, that it is allowed that the clergy, in general, receive little more than one half of their legal dues; not including the charges they are at in collecting or bargaining for them.

The land rents of Ireland are computed to about two millions, whereof one-tenth amounts to two hundred thousand pounds. The beneficed clergymen, excluding those of this city, are not reckoned to be above five hundred; by which computation they should each of them possess two hundred pounds a-year, if those tythes were equally divided, although in well cultivated corn countries it ought to be more; whereas they hardly receive one half of that sum, with great defalcations, and in very bad payments. There are indeed a few glebes in the north pretty considerable, but if these and all the rest were in like manner equally divided, they would not add five pounds a-year to every clergyman. Therefore, whether the condition of the clergy in general among us be justly liable to envy, or able to bear a heavy burden, which neither the nobility nor gentry, nor tradesmen nor farmers, will touch

touch with one of their fingers; this, I say, is submitted to the honourable house.

One terrible circumstance in this bill is, that of turning the tythe of *flax* and *hemp* into what the lawyers call a *modus*, or a certain sum in lieu of a tenth part of the product. And by this practice of claiming a *modus* in many parishes by ancient custom, the clergy in both kingdoms have been almost incredible sufferers. Thus, in the present case, the tythe of a tolerable acre of *flax*, which by a medium is worth twelve shillings, is by the present bill reduced to four shillings. Neither is this the worst part in a *modus*; every determinate sum must, in process of time, sink from a fourth to a four and twentieth part, or a great deal lower, by that necessary fall attending the value of money, which is now at least nine-tenths lower all over Europe than it was four hundred years ago, by a gradual decline; and even a third part at least within our own memories, in purchasing almost every thing required for the necessities or conveniencies of life; as any gentleman can attest, who hath kept house for twenty years past. And this will equally affect poor countries as well as rich. For, although I look upon it as an impossibility that this kingdom should ever thrive under its present disadvantages, which without a miracle must still increase; yet when the whole cash of the nation shall sink to fifty thousand pounds, we must in all our traffic abroad, either of import or export, go by the general rate, at which money is valued in those coun-

tries, that enjoy the common privileges of human kind. For this reason, no corporation (if the clergy may presume to call themselves one) should by any means grant away their properties in perpetuity, upon any consideration whatsoever; which is a rock that many corporations have split upon, to their great impoverishment, and sometimes to their utter undoing; because they are supposed to subsist for ever, and because no determination of money is of any certain perpetual intrinsic value. This is known enough in England, where estates let for ever, some hundred years ago, by several ancient noble families, do not at this present pay their posterity a twentieth part of what they are now worth at an easy rent.

A tax affecting one part of a nation, which already bears its full share in all parliamentary impositions, cannot possibly be just, except it be inflicted as a punishment upon that body of men, which is taxed, for some great demerit or danger to the public apprehended from those upon whom it is laid: thus, the *papists* and *non-jurors* have been doubly taxed for refusing to give proper securities to the government; which cannot be objected against the clergy. And therefore, if this bill should pass, I think it ought to be with a preface, shewing wherein they have offended, and for what disaffection or other crime they are punished.

If an additional excise upon ale, or a duty upon flesh and bread were to be enacted, neither the victualler, butcher, or baker, would bear any
more

more of the charge than for what themselves consumed; but it would be an equal general tax through the whole kingdom: whereas, by this bill, the clergy alone are avowedly condemned to be deprived of their ancient, inherent, undisputed rights, in order to encourage a manufacture by which all the rest of the kingdom are supposed to be gainers.

This bill is directly against *magna charta*, whereof the first clause is for confirming the inviolable rights of holy church; as well as contrary to the oath taken by all our kings at their coronation, where they swear to defend and protect the church in all rights.

A tax laid upon employments, is a very different thing. The possessors of civil and military employments are no corporation: neither are they any part of our constitution; their salaries, pay, and perquisites are all changeable, at the pleasure of the prince who bestows them, although the army be paid from funds raised and appropriated by the legislature. But the clergy, as they have little reason to expect, so they desire no more than their ancient legal dues; only, indeed, with the removal of many grievous impediments in the collection of them; which, it is to be feared, they must wait for until more favourable times. It is well known, that they have already, of their own accord, shewn great indulgence to their people upon this very article of *flax*, seldom taking above a fourth part of their tithe for small parcels, and oftentimes nothing at

all from new beginners: waiting with patience until the farmers were able, and until great quantities of land were employed in that part of husbandry; never suspecting, that their good intentions should be perverted in so singular a manner to their detriment by that very assembly, which, during the time that convocations (which are an original part of our constitution, ever since *christianity* became national among us) are thought fit to be suspended, God knows for what reason, or from what provocations; I say, from that very assembly, who, during the intervals of convocations, should rather be supposed to be guardians of the rights and properties of the clergy, than to make the least attempt upon either.

I have not heard, upon inquiry, that any of those gentlemen, who, among us, without doors, are called the court-party, discover the least zeal in this affair. If they had thoughts to interpose, it might be conceived they would shew their displeasure against this bill, which must very much lessen the value of the king's patronage, upon promotion to vacant sees, in the disposal of deaneries, and other considerable preferments in the church, which are in the donation of the crown; whereby the viceroys will have fewer good preferments to bestow on their dependents, as well as upon the kindred of members, who may have a sufficient stock of that sort of merit, whatever it may be, which may in future times most prevail.

The *dissenters*, by not succeeding in their endeavours to procure a repeal of the *test*, have lost
nothing,

nothing, but continue in a full enjoyment of their toleration; while the clergy, without giving the least offence, are, by this bill, deprived of a considerable branch of their ancient legal rights; whereby the schismatical party will have the pleasure of gratifying their revenge——*hoc Graii voluere.*

The farmer will find no relief by this *modus*; because, when his present lease shall expire, his landlord will infallibly raise the rent in an equal proportion upon every part of land where flax is sown, and have so much a better security for payment at the expence of the clergy.

If we judge by things past, it little avails that this bill is to be limited to a certain time, of ten, twenty, or thirty years. For no landlord will ever consent, that a law shall expire, by which he finds himself a gainer; and of this there are many examples, as well in England as in this kingdom.

The great end of this bill, is, by proper encouragement, to extend the linen manufacture into those countries where it hath hitherto been little cultivated: but this encouragement of *lessening the tithe of flax and hemp*, is one of such a kind, as, it is to be feared, will have a directly contrary effect: Because, if I am rightly informed, no set of men hath, for their number and fortunes, been more industrious and successful than the clergy, in introducing that manufacture into places which were unacquainted with it, by persuading their people to sow *flax and hemp*, by pro-

curing seed for them, and by having them instructed in the management thereof; and this they did, not without reasonable hopes of increasing the value of their parishes after some time, as well as of promoting the benefit of the public. But, if this *modus* should take place, the clergy will be so far from gaining, that they will become losers by their extraordinary care, by having their best arable lands turned to *flax* and *hemp*, which are reckoned great impoverishers of land: they cannot, therefore, be blamed, if they should shew as much zeal to prevent its being introduced or improved in their parishes, as they hitherto have shewed in the introducing and improving it. This, I am told, some of them have already declared, at least so far as to resolve not to give themselves any more trouble than other men, about promoting a manufacture, by the success of which, they only, of all men, are to be sufferers. Perhaps the giving even a further encouragement than the law doth, as it now stands, to a set of men who might, on many accounts, be so useful to this purpose, would be no bad method of having the great end of the bill more effectually answered: but this is what they are far from desiring; all they petition for, is no more than to continue on the same footing with the rest of their fellow-subjects.

If this *modus* of paying by the acre be to pass into a law, it were to be wished, that the same law would not only appoint one or more sworn surveyors in each parish to measure the lands, on
which

which *flax* and *hemp* are sown, but also settle the price of surveying, and determine, whether the incumbent or farmer is to pay for each annual survey. Without something of this kind, there must constantly be disputes between them, and the neighbouring justices of peace must be teased as often as those disputes happen.

I had written thus far, when a paper was sent to me, with several reasons against the bill; some whereof, although they have been already touched, are put in a better light, and the rest did not occur to me. I shall deliver them in the author's own words.

I. That tithes are the patrimony of the church; and, if not of divine original, yet at least of great antiquity.

II. That all purchases and leases of tytheable lands, for many centuries past, have been made and taken, subject to the demand of tythes, and those lands sold and taken just so much the cheaper on that account.

III. That if any lands are exempted from tithes, or the legal demands of such tithes lessened by act of parliament, so much value is taken from the proprietor of the tithes, and vested in the proprietor of the lands, or his head tenants.

IV. That no innocent unoffending person can be so deprived of his property, without the greatest violation of common justice.

V. That to do this upon a prospect of encouraging the linen or any other manufacture, is acting upon a very mistaken and unjust supposition;
inasmuch

inasmuch as the price of the lands so occupied, will be no way lessened to the farmer by such a law.

VI. That the clergy are content chearfully to bear (as they now do) any burden in common with their fellow subjects, either for the support of his majesty's government, or the encouragement of the trade of the nation, but think it very hard that they should be singled out to pay heavier taxes than others, at a time, when, by the decrease of the value of their parishes, they are less able to bear them.

VII. That the legislature, hath heretofore distinguished the clergy by exemptions, and not by additional loads; and the present clergy of the kingdom hope they have not deserved worse of the legislature than their predecessors.

VIII. That by the original constitution of these kingdoms, the clergy had the sole right of taxing themselves, and were in possession of that right as low as the restoration; and if that right be now devolved upon the commons by the cession of the clergy, the commons can be considered in this case in no other light than as the guardians of the clergy.

IX. That besides those tythes always in the possession of the clergy, there are some portions of tythes lately come into their possession by purchase; that if this clause should take place, they would not be allowed the benefit of these purchases upon an equal foot of advantage with the rest of their fellow-subjects. And that some tythes in the hands of impropiators are under settlements and mortgages.

X. That

X. That the gentlemen of this house should consider, that loading the clergy is loading their own younger brothers and children, with this additional grievance, that it is taking from the younger and poorer to give to the elder and richer; and,

Lastly, That if it were at any time just and proper to do this, it would however be too severe to do it now, when all the tythes of the kingdom are known for some years past to have sunk above one third part in their value.

Any income in the hands of the clergy, is at least as useful to the public as the same income in the hands of the laity.

It were more reasonable to grant the clergy, in three parts of the nation, an additional support, than to diminish their present subsistence.

Great employments are and will be in the hands of Englishmen; nothing left for the younger sons of Irishmen but vicarages, tide-waiters places, &c. therefore no reason to make them worse.

The *modus* upon the *flax* in England, affects only lands reclaimed since the year 1690, and is at the rate of five shillings the English acre, which is equivalent to eight shillings and eight pence Irish, and that to be paid before the farmer removed it from the field. Flax is a manufacture of little consequence in England, but is the staple in Ireland; and if it increases (as it probably will) must in many places jostle out corn, because it is more gainful.

The clergy of the established church have no interest like those of the church of Rome, distinct from the true interest of their country, and therefore

fore ought to suffer under no distinct impositions or taxes of any kind.

The bill for settling the *modus* of *flax* in England, was brought in the first year of the reign of king George I. when the clergy lay very unjustly under the imputation of some disaffection; and to encourage the bringing in of some fens in Lincolnshire which were not to be continued under *flax*; but it left all lands where *flax* had been sown before that time under the same condition of tything, in which they were before the passing of that bill: whereas this bill takes away what the clergy are actually possessed of.

That the woollen manufacture is the staple of England, as the linen is that of Ireland, yet no attempt was ever made in England to reduce the tythe of wool for the encouragement of that manufacture. This manufacture hath already been remarkably favoured by the clergy, who have hitherto been generally content with less than half, some with six-pence a garden, and some have taken nothing.

Employments, they say, have been taxed; the reasons for which taxation will not hold, with regard to property at least, till employments become inheritances. The commons always have had so tender a regard to property, that they would never suffer any law to pass, whereby any particular persons might be aggrieved, without their own consent.

N. B. *Some alterations have been made in the bill about the modus, since the above paper was written; but they are of little moment.*

A modest PROPOSAL for preventing the CHILDREN of POOR PEOPLE in IRELAND from being a burden to their Parents or Country, and for making them beneficial to the Public.

IT is a melancholy object to those, who walk through this great town, or travel in the country, when they see the *streets*, the *roads*, and *cabin doors* crowded with *beggars* of the female sex, followed by three, four, or six children, *all in rags*, and importuning every passenger for an alms. These *mothers*, instead of being able to work for their honest livelihood, are forced to employ all their time in strolling, to beg subsistence for their *helpless infants*, who, as they grow up, either turn *thieves* for want of work, or leave their *dear native country to fight for the pretender in Spain*, or sell themselves to Barbadoes.

I think it is agreed by all parties, that this prodigious number of children in the arms, or on the backs, or at the heels of their *mothers*, and frequently of their *fathers*, is *in the present deplorable state of the kingdom* a very great additional grievance; and therefore, whoever could find out a fair, cheap and easy method of making these children sound and useful members of the commonwealth, would deserve so well of the public, as to have his statue set up for a preserver of the nation.

But my intention is very far from being confined to provide only for the children of *professed* *beggars* :

beggars: it is of a much greater extent, and shall take in the whole number of infants at a certain age, who are born of parents in effect as little able to support them, as those who demand our charity in the streets.

As to my own part, having turned my thoughts for many years upon this important subject, and maturely weighed the several *schemes of our projectors*, I have always found them grossly mistaken in their computation. It is true, a child *just dropt from its dam* may be supported by her milk for a solar year, with little other nourishment: at most not above the value of two shillings, which the mother may certainly get, or the value in *scraps*, by her lawful occupation of begging; and it is exactly at one year old that I propose to provide for them in such a manner, as, instead of being a charge upon their *parents*, or the *parish*, or *wanting food and raiment* for the rest of their lives, they shall, on the contrary, contribute to the feeding, and partly to the cloathing of many thousands.

There is likewise another great advantage in my scheme, that it will prevent those *voluntary abortions*, and that horrid practice of *women murdering their bastard children*, alas! too frequent among us, sacrificing the *poor innocent babes*, I doubt more to avoid the expence than the shame, which would move tears and pity in the most savage and inhuman breast.

The number of souls in this kingdom being usually reckoned one million and a half, of these

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I calculate there may be about two hundred thousand couple, whose wives are breeders; from which number I subtract thirty thousand couple who are able to maintain their own children, (although I apprehend there cannot be so many under *the present distresses of the kingdom*) but this being granted, there will remain an hundred and seventy thousand breeders. I again subtract fifty thousand for those women, who miscarry, or whose children die by accident or disease within the year. There only remain an hundred and twenty thousand children of poor parents annually born. The question therefore is, How this number shall be reared and provided for? which, as I have already said, under the present situation of affairs, is utterly impossible by all the methods hitherto proposed. For we can *neither employ them in handicraft or agriculture*; we neither build houses, (I mean in the country) nor cultivate land: they can very seldom pick up a livelihood *by stealing*, till they arrive at six years old, except where they are of towardly parts; although I confess they learn the rudiments much earlier; during which time they can however be properly looked upon only as *probationers*; as I have been informed by a principal gentleman in the county of Cavan, who protested to me, that he never knew above one or two instances under the age of six, even in a part of the kingdom *so renowned for the quickest proficiency in that art*.

I am assured by our merchants, that a boy or a girl before twelve years old, is no saleable com-

modity; and even when they come to this age, they will not yield above three pounds, or three pounds and half a crown at most, on the exchange; which cannot turn to account either to the parents or kingdom, the charge of nutriment and rags having been at least four times that value.

I shall now therefore humbly propose my own thoughts, which I hope will not be liable to the least objection.

I have been assured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child well nursed, is at a year old most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food, whether *stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled*; and I make no doubt that it will equally serve in a *fricassée*, or a *ragoust*.

I do therefore humbly offer it to *public consideration*, that of the hundred and twenty thousand children already computed, twenty thousand may be reserved for breed, whereof only one-fourth part to be males; which is more than we allow to *sheep, black cattle, or swine*; and my reason is, that these children are seldom the fruits of marriage, *a circumstance not much regarded by our savages*, therefore *one male* will be sufficient to serve four females. That the remaining hundred thousand may, at a year old, be offered in sale to the persons of *quality and fortune* through the kingdom; always advising the mother to let them suck plentifully in the last month, so as to render them plump and fat for a good table. A child will

will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends; and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish, and seasoned with a little pepper or salt, will be very good boiled on the fourth day, especially in *winter*.

I have reckoned upon a medium, that a child just born will weigh 12 pounds, and in a solar year, if tolerably nursed, will encrease to 28 pounds.

I grant this food will be somewhat dear, and therefore very *proper for landlords*, who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children.

Infants' flesh will be in season throughout the year, but more plentiful in March, and a little before and after; for we are told by a grave author, † an eminent French phyfician, that *fish being a prolific diet*, there are more children born in Roman catholic countries about nine months after Lent, than at any other season; therefore, reckoning a year after Lent, the markets will be more glutted than usual, because the number of *popish infants* is at least three to one in this kingdom; and therefore it will have one other collateral advantage, by lessening the number of *papists* among us.

I have already computed the charge of nursing a beggar's child (in which list I reckon all *cottagers, labourers, and four-fifths of the farmers*) to be about two shillings *per annum*, rags included; and I believe no gentleman would repine to give ten shillings for the *carcase of a good fat child*, which, as I have said, will make four dishes of excellent

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nutritive

† Rabelais.

nutritive meat, when he hath only some particular friend, or his own family to dine with him. Thus the squire will learn to be a good landlord, and grow popular among his tenants; the mother will have eight shillings neat profit, and be fit for work, till she produces another child.

Those, who are more thrifty (*as I must confess the times require*) may flay the carcase; the skin of which, artificially dressed, will make admirable gloves for ladies, and summer boots for fine gentlemen.

As to our city of Dublin, shambles may be appointed for this purpose in the most convenient parts of it, and butchers we may be assured will not be wanting; although I rather recommend buying the children alive, and dressing them hot from the knife, as we do *roasting pigs*.

A very worthy person, a true lover of his country, and whose virtues I highly esteem, was lately pleased, in discoursing on this matter, to offer a refinement upon my scheme. He said, that many gentlemen of this kingdom, having of late destroyed their deer, he conceived that the want of venison might be well supplied by the bodies of young lads and maidens, not exceeding fourteen years of age, nor under twelve; so great a number of both sexes in every county being now ready to starve for want of work and service; and these to be disposed of by their parents, if alive, or otherwise by their nearest relations. But, with due deference to so excellent a friend, and so deserving a patriot, I cannot be altogether in his sentiments; for, as to the males, my American acquaintance

acquaintance assured me, from frequent experience, that their flesh was generally tough and lean, like that of our school-boys, by continual exercise, and their taste disagreeable, and to fatten them would not answer the charge. Then, as to the females, it would, I think, with humble submission, *be a loss to the public*, because they soon would become breeders themselves: and besides, it is not improbable, that some scrupulous people might be apt to censure such a practice, (although indeed very unjustly) as a little bordering upon cruelty; which I confess, hath always been with me the strongest objection against any project, how well soever intended.

But in order to justify my friend, he confessed, that this expedient was put into his head by the famous Salmanaazor, a native of the island of Formosa, who came from thence to London above twenty years ago, and, in conversation, told my friend, that in his country, when any young person happened to be put to death, the executioner sold the carcase to *persons of quality* as a prime dainty; and that in his time the body of a plump girl of fifteen, who was crucified for an attempt to poison the Emperor, was sold to his imperial *Majesty's Prime Minister of State*, and other great mandarins of the court, *in joints from the gibbet*, at four hundred crowns. Neither indeed can I deny, that if the same use were made of several plump young girls in this town, who, without one single groat to their fortunes, cannot stir abroad without a chair, and appear at a *play-house*

and *assemblies* in foreign fineries which they never will pay for, the kingdom would not be the worse.

Some persons of a desponding spirit are in great concern about that vast number of poor people, who are aged, diseased, or maimed; and I have been desired to employ my thoughts, what course may be taken to ease the nation of so grievous an incumbrance. But I am not in the least pain upon that matter, because it is very well known that they are every day *dying* and *rotting*, by *cold* and *famine*, and *filth* and *vermin*, as fast as can be reasonably expected. And as to the young labourers, they are now in almost as hopeful a condition: they cannot get work, and consequently pine away for want of nourishment, to a degree, that if at any time they are accidentally hired to common labour, they have not strength to perform it; and thus the country and themselves are happily delivered from the evils to come.

I have too long digressed, and therefore shall return to my subject. I think the advantages by the proposal, which I have made, are obvious and many, as well as of the highest importance.

For, *first*, as I have already observed, it would greatly lessen *the number of papists*, with whom we are yearly over-run, being the principal breeders of the nation, as well as our most dangerous enemies, and who stay at home on purpose *to deliver the kingdom to the Pretender*, hoping to take their advantage by the absence of so many good protestants, who have chosen rather to leave their country,

try, than stay at home and pay tithes against their conscience to an *episcopal curate*.

Secondly, The poorer tenants will have something valuable of their own, which by law may be made liable to a distress, and help to pay their landlord's rent; their corn and cattle being already seized, and money a thing unknown.

Thirdly, Whereas the maintenance of an hundred thousand children, from two years old and upwards, cannot be computed at less than ten shillings a piece *per ann.* the nation's stock will be thereby increased 50,000 l. *per ann.* besides the profit of a new dish introduced to the tables of all *gentlemen of fortune* in the kingdom, who have any refinement in taste. And the money will circulate among ourselves, the goods being entirely of our own growth and manufacture.

Fourthly, The constant breeders, besides the gain of eight shillings *sterling per annum* by the sale of their children, will be rid of the charge of maintaining them after the first year.

Fifthly, This food would likewise bring great custom to taverns; where the vintners will certainly be so prudent as to procure the best receipts for dressing it to perfection, and consequently have their houses frequented by all the *fine gentlemen*, who justly value themselves upon their knowledge in good eating; and a skilful cook, who understands how to oblige his guests, will contrive to make it as expensive as they please.

Sixthly, This would be a great inducement to marriage, which all wise nations have either encouraged

couraged by rewards, or enforced by laws and penalties. It would encrease the care and tenderness of mothers towards their children, when they were sure of a settlement for life to the poor babes, provided in some sort by the public, to their annual profit instead of expence. We should soon see an honest emulation among the married women, *which of them could bring the fattest child to the market.* Men would become as fond of their wives during the time of their pregnancy, as they are now of their *mares* in foal, their *cows* in calf, or *sows* when they are ready to farrow; nor offer to beat or kick them (as is too frequent a practice) for fear of a miscarriage.

Many other advantages might be enumerated. For instance, the addition of some thousand carcasses in our exportation of barreled beef: the propagation of *swines flesh*, and improvement in the art of making good *bacon*, so much wanted among us by the great destruction of *pigs*, too frequent at our tables; which are no way comparable in taste and magnificence to a well-grown, fat, yearly child, which, roasted whole, will make a considerable figure at a *Lord mayor's feast*, or any other public entertainment. But this, and many others, I omit, being studious of brevity.

Supposing that one thousand families in the city would be constant customers for infants flesh, besides others who might have it at *merry meetings*, particularly at *weddings* and *christenings*, I compute, that Dublin would take off, annually, about twenty thousand carcasses; and the rest of the

the kingdom (where probably they will be sold somewhat cheaper) the remaining eighty thousand.

I can think of no one objection, that will possibly be raised against this proposal, unless it should be urged, that the number of people will be thereby much lessened in the kingdom. This I freely own, and it was indeed one principal design in offering it to the world. I desire the reader will observe, that I calculate my remedy for this one individual kingdom of IRELAND, and for no other that ever was, is, or, I think, ever can be upon earth. Therefore, let no man talk to me of other expedients: of taxing our absentees at five shillings a pound: of using neither clothes nor household furniture, except what is of our own growth and manufacture: of utterly rejecting the materials and instruments, that promote foreign luxury: of curing the expensiveness of pride, vanity, idleness, and gaming in our women: of introducing a vein of parsimony, prudence, and temperance: of learning to love our country, in the want of which we differ even from LAPLANDERS, and the inhabitants of TOPINAMBOO; of quitting our animosities and factions, nor acting any longer like the Jews, who were murdering one another at the very moment their city was taken: of being a little cautious not to sell our country and consciences for nothing: of teaching landlords to have at least one degree of mercy towards their tenants: lastly, of putting a spirit of honesty, industry, and skill into our shop-keepers, who, if a resolution could now be taken to buy only our native goods, would immediately unite to cheat and exact upon

upon us in the price, the measure, and the goodness, nor could ever yet be brought to make one fair proposal of just dealing, though often and earnestly invited to it.

Therefore I repeat, let no man talk to me of these and the like expedients, * till he hath at least some glimpse of hope, that there will ever be some hearty and sincere attempt to put them in *practice*.

But, as to myself, having been wearied out for many years with offering vain, idle, visionary thoughts, and at length utterly despairing of success, I fortunately fell upon this proposal; which, as it is wholly new, so it hath something solid and real, of no expence and little trouble, full in our own power, and whereby we can incur no danger in *disobliging* ENGLAND. For this kind of commodity will not bear exportation, the flesh being of too tender a consistence to admit a long continuance in salt; *although, perhaps, I could name a country, which would be glad to eat up our whole nation without it.*

After all, I am not so violently bent upon my own opinion, as to reject any offer proposed by wise men, which shall be found equally innocent, cheap, easy, and effectual. But before something of that kind shall be advanced in contradiction to my scheme, and offering a better, I desire the author or authors will be pleased maturely to consider two points. *First*, As things now stand, how they will be able to find food and raiment
for

* These expedients had been proposed before, some of them by the Dean; and to urge the practice of them, by *shewing the only alternative*, seems to have been the design of this paper.
Hawkes.

for a hundred thousand useless mouths and backs. And, *secondly*, There being a round million of creatures in human figure throughout this kingdom, whose whole subsistence, put into a common stock, would leave them in debt two millions of pounds *sterling*, adding those, who are beggars by profession, to the bulk of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, with their wives and children, who are beggars in effect; I desire those politicians who dislike my overture, and may perhaps be so bold to attempt an answer, that they will first ask the parents of these mortals, whether they would not, at this day, think it a great happiness to have been sold for food at a year old, in the manner I prescribe, and thereby have avoided such a perpetual scene of misfortunes, as they have since gone through, by the *oppression of landlords*, the *impossibility of paying rent without money or trade*, the *want of common sustenance*, with neither *house nor clothes* to cover them from the inclemencies of the weather, and the most *inevitable prospect of entailing the like*, or greater miseries, upon their *breed for ever*.

I profess, in the sincerity of my heart, that I have not the least personal interest in endeavouring to promote this necessary work, having no other motive than the *public good of my country*, by *advancing our trade*, *providing for infants*, *relieving the poor*, and *giving some pleasure to the rich*. I have no children, by which I can propose to get a single penny; the youngest being nine years old, and my wife past child-bearing.

To

To the Honourable House of Commons, &c.

The humble PETITION of the FOOTMEN
in and about the City of *Dublin*.

Written in the year 1732.

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your *petitioners* are a great and numerous *society*, endowed with several privileges time out of mind.

That certain *lewd*, *idle*, and *disorderly* persons for several months past, as it is notoriously known, have been daily seen in the public walks of this city, habited sometimes in *green coats*, and sometimes *laced*, with long *oaken cudgels* in their hands, and without swords; in hopes to procure favour, by that advantage, with a great number of ladies who frequent those walks; pretending and giving themselves out to be true genuine *Irish footmen*: whereas they can be proved to be no better than common *toupees*, as a judicious eye may soon discover, by their *awkward*, *clumsy*, *ungenteel* gait and behaviour; by their unskilfulness in dress, even with the advantage of our habits; by their ill-favoured countenances, with an air of *impudence* and *dulness* peculiar to the rest of their brethren, who have not yet arrived at that transcendent

transcendent pitch of assurance; although it may be justly apprehended, that they will do so in time, if these *counterfeits* shall happen to succeed in their evil design of passing for *real footmen*, thereby to render themselves more amiable to the ladies.

Your *petitioners* do farther alledge, that many of the said *counterfeits*, upon a strict examination, have been found in the act of *strutting, staring, swearing, swaggering*, in a manner that plainly shewed their best endeavours to imitate us. Wherein, although they did not succeed, yet by their ignorant and ungainly way of copying our graces, the utmost indignity was endeavoured to be cast upon our whole profession.

Your *petitioners* do therefore make it their humble request, that this *honourable house* (to many of whom your *petitioners* are nearly *allied*) will please to take this grievance into your most serious consideration: humbly submitting, whether it would not be proper, that certain *officers* might at the public charge be employed to search for, and discover all such *counterfeit footmen*; to carry them before the next *justice of peace*, by whose warrant, upon the first conviction, they should be stripped of their *coats* and *oaken* ornaments, and be set two hours in the stocks; upon the second conviction, besides stripping, to be set six hours in the stocks, with a paper pinned on their breasts, signifying their crime, in large capital letters, and in the following words: *A. B. commonly call-*

ed A. B. Esq; a toupee, and a notorious impostor, who presumed to personate a true Irish footman.

And for any other offence, the said *toupee* shall be committed to Bridewell, whipped three times, forced to hard labour for a month, and not to be set at liberty till he shall have given sufficient security for his good behaviour.

Your *honours* will please to observe, with what lenity we propose to treat these enormous offenders, who have already brought such a scandal on our *honourable calling*, that several well-meaning people have mistaken them to be of our *fraternity*, in diminution to that credit and dignity whereby we have supported our station, as we always did, in the *worst of times*. And we farther beg leave to remark, that this was manifestly done with a *sedition* design, to render us less capable of serving the *public* in any great employments, as several of our *fraternity*, as well as our *ancestors*, have done.

We do therefore humbly implore your *honours* to give necessary orders for our relief in this present exigency: And your *petitioners* (as in duty bound) shall ever pray, &c.

A P R O-

A PROPOSAL for giving BADGES to the
BEGGARS in all the Parishes of *Dublin*.

By the Dean of St. Patrick's.

Written in the year 1737.

IT hath been a general complaint, that the poor-house (especially since the new constitution by act of parliament) hath been of no benefit to this city, for the ease of which it was wholly intended. I had the honour to be a member of it many years before it was new-modelled by the legislature; not from any personal regard, but merely as one of the two deans, who are of course put into most commissions that relate to the city; and I have likewise the honour to have been left out of several commissions, upon the score of party, in which my predecessors, time out of mind, have always been members.

The first commission was made up of about fifty persons, which were, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and some few other citizens; the Judges, the two Archbishops, the two Deans of the city, and one or two more gentlemen. And I must confess my opinion, that the dissolving the old commission, and establishing a new one, of near three times the number, have been the great cause of rendering so good a design not only useless, but a grievance instead of

a benefit to the city. In the present commission, all the city clergy are included, besides a great number of 'Squires, not only those who reside in Dublin and the neighbourhood, but several who live at a great distance, and cannot possibly have the least concern for the advantage of the city.

At the few general meetings that I have attended since the new establishment, I observed very little was done, except one or two acts of extreme justice, which I then thought might as well have been spared : and I have found the court of assistants usually taken up in little wrangles about coachmen, or adjusting accounts of meal and small beer ; which, however necessary, might sometimes have given place to matters of much greater moment, I mean some schemes recommended to the general Board, for answering the chief ends in erecting and establishing such a poor-house, and endowing it with so considerable a revenue : and the principal end I take to have been, that of maintaining the poor and orphans of the city, where the parishes are not able to do it ; and clearing the streets from all strollers, foreigners, and sturdy beggars, with which, to the universal complaint and admiration, Dublin is more infested since the establishment of the poor-house, than it was ever known to be since its first erection.

As the whole fund for supporting this hospital is raised only from the inhabitants of the city, so there can be hardly any thing more absurd than to see it misemployed in maintaining foreign beggars, and bastards, or orphans of farmers, whose
country

country landlords never contributed one shilling towards their support. I would engage, that half this revenue, if employed with common care, and no very great degree of common honesty, would maintain all the real objects of charity in this city, except a small number of original poor in every parish, who might, without being burdensome to the parishioners, find a tolerable support.

I have for some years past applied myself to several Lord-Mayors, and the late Archbishop of Dublin, for a remedy to this evil of foreign beggars; and they all appeared ready to receive a very plain proposal, I mean that of badging the original poor of every parish, who begged in the streets; that the said beggars should be confined to their own parishes; that they should wear their badges well sown upon one of their shoulders, always visible, on pain of being whipped and turned out of town; or whatever legal punishment may be thought proper and effectual. But, by the wrong way of thinking in some clergymen, and the indifference of others, this method was perpetually defeated, to their own continual disquiet, which they do not ill deserve; and if the grievance affected only them, it would be of less consequence; because the remedy is in their own power: but, all street-walkers and shop-keepers bear an equal share in its hourly vexation.

I never heard more than one objection against this expedient of badging the poor, and confining their walks to their several parishes. The objection was this: What shall we do with the foreign
G g 3
beggars?

beggars? must they be left to starve? I answered, No; but they must be driven or whipped out of town; and let the next country parish do as they please, or rather, after the practice in England, send them from one parish to another, until they reach their own homes. By the old laws of England still in force, every parish is bound to maintain its own poor; and the matter is of no such consequence in this point as some would make it, whether a country parish be rich or poor. In the remoter and poorer parishes of the kingdom, all necessaries for life, proper for poor people, are comparatively cheaper; I mean, butter-milk, oat-meal, potatoes, and other vegetables; and every farmer or cottager, who is not himself a beggar, can sometimes spare a sup or a morsel, not worth the fourth part of a farthing, to an indigent neighbour of his own parish, who is disabled from work. A beggar native of the parish is known to the 'Squire, to the church minister, to the popish priest, or the conventicle teacher, as well as to every farmer: he hath generally some relations able to live, and contribute something to his maintenance: none of which advantages can be reasonably expected on a removal to places where he is altogether unknown. If he be not quite maimed, he and his trull, and litter of brats (if he has any) may get half their support by doing some kind of work in their power, and thereby be less burdensome to the people. In short, all necessaries of life grow in the country, and not in cities, and are cheaper where they grow; nor is it

it equitable, that beggars should put us to the charge of giving them victuals, and the carriage too.

But, when the spirit of wandering takes him, attended by his females and their equipage of children, he becomes a nuisance to the whole country: he and his female are thieves, and teach the trade of stealing to their brood at four years old; and if his infirmities be counterfeited, it is dangerous for a single person unarmed to meet him on the road. He wanders from one country to another, but still with a view to this town, whither he arrives at last, and enjoys all the privileges of a Dublin beggar.

I do not wonder, that the country 'squires should be very willing to send up their colonies; but why the city should be content to receive them, is beyond my imagination.

If the city were obliged by their charter to maintain a thousand beggars, they could do it cheaper by eighty *per cent.* a hundred miles off, than in this town, or in any of its suburbs.

There is no village in Connaught, that in proportion shares so deeply in the daily increasing miseries of Ireland, as its capital city; to which miseries there hardly remained any addition, except the perpetual swarms of foreign beggars, who might be banished in a month, without expence, and with very little trouble.

As I am personally acquainted with a great number of street-beggars, I find some weak attempts have been made in one or two parishes to
promote

promote the wearing of badges; and my first question to those who ask an alms is, *Where is your badge?* I have, in several years, met with about a dozen who were ready to produce them, some out of their pockets, others from under their coat, and two or three on their shoulders, only covered with a sort of capes, which they could lift up, or let down upon occasion. They are too lazy to work; they are not afraid to steal, nor ashamed to beg, and yet are too proud to be seen with a badge, as many of them have confessed to me, and not a few in very injurious terms, particularly the females. They all look upon such an obligation as a high indignity done to their office. I appeal to all indifferent people, whether such wretches deserve to be relieved. As to myself, I must confess, this absurd insolence hath so affected me, that, for several years past, I have not disposed of one single farthing to a street-beggar, nor intend to do so until I see a better regulation; and I have endeavoured to persuade all my brother-walkers to follow my example, which most of them assure me they do. For, if beggary be not able to beat out pride, it cannot deserve charity. However, as to persons in coaches and chairs, they bear but little of the persecution we suffer, and are willing to leave it entirely upon us.

To say the truth, there is not a more undeserving vicious race of human kind, than the bulk of those who are reduced to beggary, even in this beggarly country. For, as a great part of our public miseries is originally owing to our own faults

faults (but what those faults are, I am grown by experience too wary to mention) so I am confident, that among the meaner people, nineteen in twenty of those who are reduced to a starving condition, did not become so by what the lawyers call the work of God either upon their bodies or goods; but merely from their own idleness, attended with all manner of vices, particularly drunkenness, thievery, and cheating.

Whoever inquires, as I have frequently done, from those who have asked me an alms, what was their former course of life, will find them to have been servants in good families, broken tradesmen, labourers, cottagers, and what they call decayed housekeepers; but (to use their own cant) reduced by losses and crosses, by which nothing can be understood but idleness and vice.

As this is the only christian country where people, contrary to the old maxim, are the poverty, and not the riches of the nation; so the blessing of *increase* and *multiply* is by us converted into a curse: and, as marriage hath been ever countenanced in all free countries, so we should be less miserable, if it were discouraged in ours, as far as can be consistent with christianity. It is seldom known in England, that the labourer, the lower mechanic, the servant, or the cottager, thinks of marrying, until he hath saved up a stock of money sufficient to carry on his business; nor takes a wife without a suitable portion; and as seldom fails of making a yearly addition to that stock, with a view of providing for his children.

But

But in this kingdom, the case is directly contrary, where many thousand couples are yearly married, whose whole united fortunes, bating the rags on their backs, would not be sufficient to purchase a pint of butter-milk for their wedding-supper, nor have any prospect of supporting their *honourable state* but by service, or labour, or thievery. Nay, their *happiness* is often deferred until they find credit to borrow, or cunning to steal a shilling to pay their popish priest, or infamous couple-beggar. Surely no miraculous portion of wisdom would be required, to find some kind of remedy against this destructive evil, or at least, not to draw the consequences of it upon our decaying city; the greatest part whereof must, of course, in a few years, become desolate, or in ruins.

In all other nations, that are not absolutely barbarous, parents think themselves bound, by the law of nature and reason, to make some provision for their children; but, the reason offered by the inhabitants of Ireland for marrying, is, that they may have children to maintain them when they grow old, and unable to work.

I am informed, that we have been, for some time past, extremely obliged to England for one very beneficial branch of commerce; for, it seems they are grown so gracious as to transmit us continually colonies of beggars, in return for a million of money they receive yearly from hence. That I may give no offence, I profess to mean real English beggars, in the literal meaning
of

of the word, as it is usually understood by protestants. It seems the justices of the peace, and parish-officers in the western coasts of England, have a good while followed the trade of exporting hither their supernumerary beggars, in order to advance the English protestant interest among us; and these they are so kind to send over *gratis*, and duty-free. I have had the honour, more than once, to attend large cargoes of them from Chester to Dublin: and I was then so ignorant as to give my opinion, that our city should receive them into Bridewell; and, after a month's residence, having been well whipt twice a-day, fed with bran and water, and put to hard labour, they should be returned honestly back, with thanks, as cheap as they came: or, if that were not approved of, I proposed, that whereas one Englishman is allowed to be of equal intrinsic value with twelve born in Ireland, we should, in justice, return them a dozen for one, to dispose of as they pleased.

As to the native poor of this city, there would be little or no damage in confining them to their several parishes. For instance; a beggar of the parish of St. Werburgh's, or any other parish here, if he be an object of compassion, hath an equal chance to receive his proportion of alms from every charitable hand; because the inhabitants, one or other, walk through every street in town, and give their alms, without considering the place, wherever they think it may be well disposed of: and these helps, added to what they
get

get in eatables, by going from house to house among the gentry and citizens, will, without being very burthensome, be sufficient to keep them alive.

It is true, the poor of the suburb parishes will not have altogether the same advantage, because they are not equally in the road of business and passengers: but here it is to be considered, that the beggars there, have not so good a title to public charity, because most of them are strollers from the country, and compose a principal part of that great nuisance which we ought to remove.

I should be apt to think, that few things can be more irksome to a city minister, than a number of beggars which do not belong to his district, whom he hath no obligation to take care of, who are no part of his flock, and who take the bread out of the mouths of those to whom it properly belongs. When I mention this abuse to any minister of a city-parish, he usually lays the fault upon the beadles, who, he says, are bribed by the foreign beggars; and, as those beadles often keep ale-houses, they find their account in such customers. This evil might easily be remedied, if the parishes would make some small addition to the salaries of a beadle, and be more careful in the choice of those officers. But, I conceive there is one effectual method, in the power of every minister to put in practice; I mean, by making it the interest of all his own original poor to drive out intruders; for, if the parish beggars were absolutely forbidden by the minister and church

church officers to suffer strollers to come into the parish, upon pain of themselves not being permitted to beg alms at the church-doors, or at the houses and shops of the inhabitants, they would prevent interlopers more effectually than twenty beadles.

And here I cannot but take notice of the great indiscretion of our city shop-keepers, who suffer their doors to be daily besieged by crowds of beggars, (as the gates of a lord are by duns) to the great disgust and vexation of many customers, whom I have frequently observed to go to other shops, rather than suffer such a persecution; which might easily be avoided, if no foreign beggars were allowed to infest them.

Wherefore I do assert, that the shop-keepers, who are the greatest complainers of this grievance, lamenting that for every customer they are worried by fifty beggars, do very well deserve what they suffer, when a 'prentice with a horse-whip is able to lash every beggar from the shop, who is not of the parish, and doth not wear the badge of that parish on his shoulder, well fastened, and fairly visible; and if this practice were universal in every house, to all the sturdy vagrants, we should, in a few weeks, clear the town of all mendicants, except those who have a proper title to our charity: as for the aged and infirm, it would be sufficient to give them nothing, and then they must starve, or follow their brethren.

It was the city that first endowed this hospital; and those who afterwards contributed, as they

were such who generally inhabited here, so they intended what they gave to be for the use of the city's poor. The revenues, which have been since raised by parliament, are wholly paid by the city, without the least charge upon any other part of the kingdom; and therefore, nothing could more defeat the original design, than to misapply those revenues on strolling beggars or bastards from the country, which bears no share in the charges we are at.

If some of the out-parishes be over-burdened with poor, the reason must be, that the greatest part of those poor are strollers from the country, who nestle themselves where they can find the cheapest lodgings, and from thence infest every part of the town, out of which they ought to be whipped, as a most insufferable nuisance, being nothing else but a profligate clan of thieves, drunkards, heathens, and whoremongers, fitter to be rooted out of the face of the earth, than suffered to levy a vast annual tax upon the city, which shares too deep in the public miseries brought on us by the oppressions we ly under from our neighbours, our brethren, our countrymen, our fellow protestants, and fellow subjects.

Some time ago, I was appointed one of a committee, to enquire into the state of the work-house; where we found, that a charity was bestowed by a great person for a certain time, which, in its consequences, operated very much to the detriment of the house; for, when the time was elapsed, all those who were supported by that charity,

rity, continued on the same foot with the rest on the foundation; and, being generally a pack of profligate, vagabond wretches, from several parts of the kingdom, corrupted all the rest; so partial, or treacherous, or interested, or ignorant, or mistaken, are generally all recommenders, not only to employments, but even to charity itself.

I know it is complained, that the difficulty of driving foreign beggars out of the city, is charged upon the bellowers (as they are called) who find their accounts best in suffering those vagrants to follow their trade through every part of the town. But this abuse might easily be remedied, and very much to the advantage of the whole city, if better salaries were given to those who execute that office in the several parishes, and would make it their interest to clear the town of those caterpillars, rather than hazard the loss of an employment that would give them an honest livelihood. But, if that should fail, yet a general resolution of never giving charity to a street beggar out of his own parish, or without a visible badge, would infallibly force all vagrants to depart.

There is generally a vagabond spirit in beggars, which ought to be discouraged, and severely punished. It is owing to the same causes that drove them into poverty; I mean, idleness, drunkenness, and rash marriages, without the least prospect of supporting a family by honest endeavours, which never came into their thoughts. It is observed, that hardly one beggar in twenty, looks upon himself to be relieved by receiving bread,

or other food; and they have in this town been frequently seen to pour out of their pitchers good broth, that hath been given them, into the kennel; neither do they much regard clothes, unless to sell them; for their rags are part of their tools with which they work; they want only ale, brandy, and other strong liquors, which cannot be had without money: and money, as they conceive, always abounds in the metropolis.

I had some other thoughts to offer upon this subject. But as I am a desponder in my nature, and have tolerably well discovered the disposition of our people, who never will move a step towards easing themselves from any one single grievance; it will be thought, that I have already said too much, and to little or no purpose, which hath often been the fate or fortune of the writer.

April 22. 1737.

J. SWIFT.

ADVICE

ADVICE to the FREEMEN of the City of
Dublin, in the Choice of a MEMBER to re-
present them in PARLIAMENT. *

THOSE few writers, who, since the death of alderman Burton, have employed their pens in giving advice to our citizens, how they should proceed in electing a new representative for the next sessions, having laid aside their pens; I have reason to hope, that all true lovers of their country in general, and particularly those who have any regard for the privileges and liberties of this great and ancient city, will think a second, and a third time, before they come to a final determination upon what person they resolve to fix their choice.

I am told, there are only two persons, who set up for candidates; one is the present lord mayor †, and the other ‡, a gentleman of good esteem, an alderman of the city, a merchant of reputation, and possessed of a considerable office || under the crown. The question is, which of these two persons it will be most for the advantage of the city to elect? I have but little acquaintance with either, so that my enquiries will be very impartial, and drawn only from the general character and situation of both.

H h 3

In

* This piece was published in the year 1733; and as it may be useful upon a like occasion, we have here given it a place.

† Humphrey French.

‡ John Macarell.

|| Register to the barracks.

In order to this, I must offer my countrymen and fellow citizens some reasons, why I think they ought to be more than ordinarily careful at this juncture, upon whom they bestow their votes.

To perform this with more clearness, it may be proper to give you a short state of our unfortunate country.

We consist of two parties, I do not mean popish and protestant, high and low church, episcopal and sectarians, whig and tory; but of those of English who happen to be born in this kingdom, (whose ancestors reduced the whole nation under the obedience of the English crown) and the gentlemen sent from t'other side to possess most of the chief employments here: this latter party is very much enlarged and strengthened by the whole power in the church, the law, the army, the revenue, and the civil administration deposited in their hands: although, for political ends, and to save appearances, some employments are still deposited (yet gradually in a smaller number) to persons born here: this proceeding, fortified with good words and many promises, is sufficient to flatter and feed the hopes of hundreds, who will never be one farthing the better, as they might easily be convinced, if they were qualified to think at all.

Civil employments of all kinds have been for several years past with great prudence made precarious, and during pleasure; by which means the possessors are, and must inevitably be, for ever dependent: yet those very few of any consequence,

quence, which being dealt with so sparing a hand to persons born among us, are enough to keep hope alive in great numbers, who desire to mend their condition by the favour of those in power.

Now, my dear fellow citizens, how is it possible you can conceive, that any person, who holds an office of some hundred pounds a year, which may be taken from him whenever power shall think fit, will, if he should be chosen a member for any city, do the least thing when he sits in the house, that he knows or fears may be displeasing to those who gave him, or continue him in that office? Believe me, these are no times to expect such an exalted degree of virtue from mortal men. *Blazing stars* are much more frequently seen than such heroical worthies. And I could sooner hope to find ten thousand pounds by digging in my garden, than such a *phœnix* by searching among the present race of mankind.

I cannot forbear thinking it a very erroneous, as well as modern maxim of politics in the English nation, to take every opportunity of depressing Ireland, whereof an hundred instances may be produced in points of the highest importance, had within the memory of every middle-aged man: although many of the greatest persons, among that party which now prevails, have formerly, upon that article, much differed in their opinion from their present successors.

But so the fact stands at present. It is plain, that the court and country party here (I mean in the house of commons) very seldom agree in any thing

thing but their loyalty to his present majesty, their resolutions to make him and his viceroy easy in the government, to the utmost of their power, under the present condition of the kingdom. But the persons sent from England, who (to a trifle) are possessed of the sole executive power in all its branches, with their few adherents in possession who were born here, and hundreds of expectants, hopes and promisees, put on quite contrary notions with regard to Ireland. They count upon an universal submission to whatever shall be demanded; wherein they act safely, because none of themselves, except the candidates, feel the least of our pressures.

I remember a person of distinction some days ago affirmed in a good deal of mixed company, and of both parties, that the gentry from England, who now enjoy our highest employments of all kinds, can never be possibly losers of one farthing by the greatest calamities that can befall this kingdom, except a plague that would sweep away a million of our *beavers of wood, and drawers of water*: or an invasion that would fright our grandees out of the kingdom. For this person argued, that while there was a penny left in the treasury, the civil and military list must be paid; and that the episcopal revenues, which are usually farmed out at six times below the real value, could hardly fail. He insisted farther, that, as money diminished, the price of all necessaries for life must of consequence do so too, which would be for the advantage of all persons in employment,

ment, as well as of my lords the bishops, and to the ruin of every body else. Among the company there wanted not men in office, besides one or two expectants: yet I did not observe any of them disposed to return an answer: but the consequences drawn were these: That the great men in power sent hither from the other side, were by no means upon the same foot with his majesty's other subjects of Ireland; they had no common ligament to bind them with us; they suffered not with our sufferings; and, if it were possible for us to have any cause of rejoicing, they could not rejoice with us.

Suppose a person, born in this kingdom, shall happen, by his services for the English interest, to have an employment conferred on him worth four hundred pounds a year; and that he hath likewise an estate in land worth four hundred pounds a year more: suppose him to sit in parliament: then, suppose a land tax to be brought in, of five shillings a pound for ten years; I tell you how this gentleman will compute. He hath four hundred pounds a year in land: the tax he must pay yearly is one hundred pounds; by which, in ten years, he will pay only a thousand pounds. But if he gives his vote against this tax, he will lose four thousand pounds by being turned out of his employment, together with the power and influence he hath, by virtue or colour of his employment; and thus the balance will be against him three thousand pounds.

I desire,

I desire, my fellow-citizens, you will please to call to mind how many persons you can vouch for among your acquaintance, who have so much virtue and self-denial, as to lose four hundred pounds a year for life, together with the smiles and favour of power, and the hopes of higher advancement, merely out of a generous love of his country.

The contentions of parties in England are very different from those among us. The battle there, is fought for power and riches: and so it is indeed among us: but, whether a great employment be given to Tom or to Peter, they were both born in England, the profits are to be spent there. All employments (except a very few) are bestowed on the natives; they do not send to Germany, Holland, Sweden, or Denmark, much less to Ireland, for chancellors, bishops, judges, or other officers. Their salaries, whether well or ill got, are employed at home: and whatever their morals or politics be, the nation is not the poorer.

The house of commons in England have frequently endeavoured to limit the number of members, who should be allowed to have employments under the crown. Several acts have been made to that purpose, which many wise men think are not yet effectual enough, and many of them are rendered ineffectual, by leaving the power of re-election. Our house of commons consists, I think, of about three hundred members;

bers; if one hundred of these should happen to be made up of persons already provided for, joined with expecters, compliers, easy to be persuaded, such as will give a vote for a friend who is in hopes to get something; if they be merry companions, without suspicion, of a natural bashfulness, not apt or able to look forwards; if good words, smiles, and careffes, have any power over them, the larger part of a second hundred may be very easily brought in, at a most reasonable rate.

There is an Englishman * of no long standing among us, but in an employment of great trust, power, and profit. This excellent person did lately publish, at his own expence, a pamphlet, printed in England by authority, to justify the bill for a general excise, or inland duty, in order to introduce that blessed scheme among us. What a tender care must such an English patriot for Ireland have of our interest, if he should condescend to sit in our parliament? I will bridle my indignation. However, methinks I long to see that mortal, who would with pleasure blow us up all at a blast: but, he duly receives his thousand pounds a year; makes his progress like a king; is received in pomp in every town † and village where he travels, and shines in the English newspapers.

I will now apply what I have said to you, my
brethren,

* Edward Thompson, Esq; member of parliament for York, and a Commissioner of the Revenue of Ireland.

† Mr. Thompson was presented with his freedom of several corporations in Ireland.

brethren, and fellow-citizens. Count upon it, as a truth next to your creed, that no one person in office, of which he is not master for life, whether born here or in England, will ever hazard that office for the good of his country. One of your candidates is of this kind, and I believe him to be an honest gentleman, as the word honest is generally understood. But, he loves his employment better than he doth you, or his country, or all the countries upon earth. Will you contribute to give him city security to pay him the value of his employment, if it should be taken from him, during his life, for voting on all occasions with the honest country party in the house? although I much question, whether he would do it, even upon that condition.

Wherefore, since there are but two candidates, I entreat you will fix on the present lord mayor. He hath shewn more virtue, more activity, more skill, in one year's government of the city, than an hundred years can equal. He hath endeavoured, with great success, to banish frauds, corruptions, and all other abuses, from amongst you.

A dozen such men in power would be able to reform a kingdom. He hath no employment under the crown; nor is likely to get or solicit for any; his education having not turned him that way. I will assure for no man's future conduct; but he who hath hitherto practised the rules of virtue with so much difficulty, in so great and busy a station, deserves your thanks, and the best return you can make him; and you, my brethren,

thren, have no other to give him, than that of representing you in parliament. Tell me not of your engagements and promises to another. Your promises were sins of inconsideration, at best; and you are bound to repent and annul them. That gentleman, although with good reputation, is already engaged on the other side. He hath four hundred pounds a year under the crown, which he is too wise to part with, by sacrificing so good an establishment to the empty names of virtue, and love of his country. I can assure you, the DRAPIER is in the interests of the present lord mayor, whatever you may be told to the contrary. I have lately heard him declare so in public company, and offer some of these very reasons in defence of his opinion; although he hath a regard and esteem for the other gentleman, but would not answer the good of the city and the kingdom for a compliment.

The lord mayor's severity to some unfair dealers, should not turn the honest men among them against him. Whatever he did, was for the advantage of those very traders whose dishonest members he punished. He hath hitherto been above temptation to act wrong; and therefore, as mankind goes, he is the most likely to act right as a representative of your city, as he constantly did in the government of it.

Some **CONSIDERATIONS** humbly offered
to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor,
the Court of Aldermen and Common Council
of the Hon. City of Dublin, in the choice of
a **RECORDER** *.

THE office of recorder to this city being
vacant by the death of a very worthy gentleman; it is said, that five or six persons are soliciting to succeed him in the employment. I am a stranger to all their persons, and to most of their characters; which latter, I hope, will at this time be canvassed with more decency, than it sometimes happeneth upon the like occasions. Therefore, as I am wholly impartial, I can with more freedom deliver my thoughts, how the several persons and parties concerned ought to proceed, in electing a recorder for this great and ancient city.

And, first, As it is a very natural, so I can by no means think it an unreasonable opinion, that the sons or near relations of aldermen, and other deserving citizens, should be duly regarded, as proper competitors for an employment in the city's disposal: provided they be equally qualified with
other

* Upon the death of Mr. Stoyte, recorder of the city of Dublin, in the year 1733, several gentlemen declared themselves candidates to succeed him: upon which the Dean wrote this paper; and Eaton Stannard, Esq; (a gentleman of great worth and honour, and very knowing in his profession,) was elected.

other candidates; and, provided that such employments require no more than common abilities, and common honesty. But, in the choice of a recorder, the case is intirely different. He ought to be a person of good abilities in his calling; of an unspotted character; an able practitioner; one who hath occasionally merited of this city before: he ought to be of some maturity in years; a member of parliament, and likely to continue so; regular in his life; firm in his loyalty to the Hanover succession; indulgent to tender consciences; but, at the same time, a firm adherer to the established church. If he be such a one, who hath already sat in parliament, it ought to be enquired of what weight he was there; whether he voted on all occasions for the good of his country, and particularly for advancing the trade and freedom of this city; whether he be engaged in any faction, either national or religious: and, lastly, whether he be a man of courage; not to be drawn from his duty by the frowns or menaces of power, nor capable to be corrupted by allurements or bribes.—These, and many other particulars, are of infinitely more consequence than that single circumstance of being descended, by a direct or collateral line, from any alderman, or distinguished citizen, dead or alive.

There is not a dealer or shop-keeper in this city, of any substance, whose thriving, less or more, may not depend upon the good or ill conduct of a recorder. He is to watch every motion

in parliament, that may the least affect the freedom, trade, or welfare of it.

In this approaching election, the commons, as they are a numerous body, so they seem to be most concerned in point of interest; and their interest ought to be most regarded, because it altogether dependeth upon the true interest of the city. They have no private views; and giving their votes, as I am informed, by balloting, they lie under no awe, or fear of disobliging competitors. It is therefore hoped, that they will duly consider, which of the candidates is most likely to advance the trade of themselves and their brother citizens; to defend their liberties, both in and out of parliament, against all attempts of encroachments or oppression. And so God direct them in the choice of a recorder, who may, for many years, supply that important office with skill, diligence, courage, and fidelity. And let all the people say, *Amen.*

The

The LAST SPEECH and DYING WORDS of
EBENEZER ELLISTON, who was executed the
2d day of May 1722*.

Published at his desire, for the common good.

[About the time that the following speech was written, the town was much pestered with *street-robbers*; who, in a barbarous manner, would seize on gentlemen, and take them into remote corners, and, after they had robbed them, would leave them bound and gagged. It is remarkable, that this speech had so good an effect, that there have been very few robberies of that kind committed since.]

I Am now going to suffer the just punishment for my crimes, prescribed by the law of God and my country. I know it is the constant custom, that those who come to this place should have speeches made for them, and cried about in their own hearing, as they are carried to execution; and truly they are such speeches, that although our fraternity be an ignorant illiterate people, they would make a man ashamed to have such nonsense and false English charged upon him,

I i 3

* This piece had a most excellent effect. The thieves, vagabonds, and all the lower class of people, thought it the real work of Ebenezer Elliston, who had received the grounds of a good education; and the style of this paper is so natural for a person in such circumstances, that it would almost deceive the nicest judgment. *Orrery.*

him, even when he is going to the gallows. They contain a pretended account of our birth and family, of the fact for which we are to die, of our sincere repentance, and a declaration of our religion. I cannot expect to avoid the same treatment with my predecessors. However, having had an education one or two degrees better than those of my rank and profession; I have been considering, ever since my commitment, what it might be proper for me to deliver upon this occasion.

And first, I cannot say, from the bottom of my heart, that I am truly sorry for the offence I have given to God and the world; but I am very much so, for the bad success of my villainies, in bringing me to this untimely end. For, it is plainly evident, that, after having, some time ago, obtained a pardon from the crown, I again took up my old trade; my evil habits were so rooted in me, and I was grown so unfit for any other kind of employment. And therefore, although, in compliance with my friends, I resolve to go to the gallows after the usual manner, kneeling, with a book in my hand, and my eyes lift up; yet I shall feel no more devotion in my heart than I have observed in my comrades, who have been drunk among common whores the very night before their execution. I can say farther, from my own knowledge, that two of my fraternity, after they had been hanged, and wonderfully came to life, and made their escapes, as it sometimes happens, proved afterwards the wickedest rogues I ever

ver knew, and so continued, until they were hanged again for good and all; and yet they had the impudence, at both times they went to the gallows, to smite their breasts, and lift up their eyes to heaven all the way.

Secondly, From the knowledge I have of my own wicked dispositions, and that of my comrades, I give it as my opinion, that nothing can be more unfortunate to the public, than the mercy of the government, in ever pardoning or transporting us; unless when we betray one another, as we never fail to do, if we are sure to be well paid, and then a pardon may do good; by the same rule, *That it is better to have one fox in a farm, than three or four.* But we generally make a shift to return after being transported, and are ten times greater rogues than before, and much more cunning. Besides, I know it by experience, that some hope we have of finding mercy when we are tried, or after we are condemned, is always a great encouragement to us.

Thirdly, Nothing is more dangerous to idle young fellows than the company of those odious common whores we frequent, and of which this town is full: these wretches put us upon all mischief, to feed their lusts and extravagancies: they are ten times more bloody and cruel than men; their advice is always not to spare, if we are pursued; they get drunk with us, and are common to us all; and yet, if they can get any thing by it, are sure to be our betrayers.

Now,

Now, as I am a dying man, something I have done, which may be of good use to the public. I have left with an honest man (and indeed the only honest man I was ever acquainted with) the names of all my wicked brethren, the present places of their abode, with a short account of the chief crimes they have committed; in many of which, I have been their accomplice, and heard the rest from their own mouths; I have likewise set down the names of those we call our setters, of the wicked houses we frequent, and of those who receive and buy our stolen goods. I have solemnly charged this honest man, and have received his promise, upon oath, that whenever he hears of any rogue to be tried for robbing, or house-breaking, he will look into his list, and, if he finds the name there of the thief concerned, to send the whole paper to the government. Of this I here give my companions fair and public warning, and hope they will take it.

In the paper above mentioned, which I left with my friend, I have also set down the names of several gentlemen who have been robbed in Dublin streets for three years past: I have told the circumstances of those robberies; and shewn plainly, that nothing but the want of common courage was the cause of their misfortune. I have, therefore, desired my friend, that whenever any gentleman happens to be robbed in the streets, he will get that relation printed and published, with the first letters of those gentlemen's names; who, by their own want of bravery, are
likely

likely to be the cause of all the mischief of that kind which may happen for the future.

I cannot leave the world, without a short description of that kind of life which I have led for some years past; and is exactly the same with the rest of our wicked brethren.

Although we are generally so corrupted, from our childhood, as to have no sense of goodness; yet something heavy always hangs about us. I know not what it is, that we are never easy till we are half drunk among our whores and companions; nor sleep sound, unless we drink longer than we can stand. If we go abroad in the day, a wise man would easily find us to be rogues by our faces, we have such a suspicious, fearful, and constrained countenance; often turning back, and slinking through narrow lanes and alleys. I have never failed of knowing a brother thief by his looks, though I never saw him before. Every man among us keeps his particular whore, who is, however, common to us all, when we have a mind to change. When we have got a booty, if it be in money, we divide it equally among our companions, and soon squander it away on our vices in those houses that receive us; for the master and mistress, and the very tapster, go snacks; and besides, make us pay triple reckonings. If our plunder be plate, watches, rings, snuff-boxes, and the like; we have customers in all quarters of the town to take them off. I have seen a tankard worth fifteen pounds sold to a fellow in ——— street for twenty shillings; and a gold watch

watch for thirty. I have set down his name, and that of several others, in the paper already mentioned. We have setters watching in corners, and by dead walls, to give us notice when a gentleman goes by; especially if he be any thing in drink. I believe in my conscience, that if an account were made of a thousand pounds in stolen goods; considering the low rates we sell them at, the bribes we must give for concealment, the extortions of ale-house reckonings, and other necessary charges, there would not remain fifty pounds clear to be divided among the robbers. And out of this, we must find cloaths for our whores, besides treating them from morning to night; who, in requital, reward us with nothing but treachery and the pox. For, when our money is gone, they are every moment threatening to inform against us, if we will not go out and look for more. If any thing in this world be like hell, as I have heard it described by our clergy, the truest picture of it must be in the back-room of one of our ale-houses at midnight, where a crew of robbers and their whores are met together after a booty, and are beginning to grow drunk; from which time, until they are past their senses, is such a continued horrible noise of cursing, blasphemy, lewdness, scurrility, and brutish behaviour, such roaring and confusion, such a clutter of mugs and pots at each others heads; that Bedlam, in comparison, is a sober and orderly place. At last they all tumble from their stools and benches, and sleep away the rest of the night;

night; and, generally, the landlord, or his wife, or some other whore who has a stronger head than the rest, picks their pockets before they wake. The misfortune is, that we can never be easy till we are drunk; and our drunkenness constantly exposes us to be more easily betrayed and taken.

This is a short picture of the life I have led; which is more miserable than that of the poorest labourer who works for four pence a day; and yet, custom is so strong, that, I am confident, if I could make my escape at the foot of the gallows, I should be following the same course this very evening. So that, upon the whole, we ought to be looked upon as the common enemies of mankind; whose interest it is to root us out, like wolves, and other mischievous vermin, against which no fair play is required.

If I have done service to men, in what I have said, I shall hope I have done service to God; and that will be better than a silly speech made for me, full of whining and canting, which I utterly despise, and have never been used to; yet such a one I expect to have my ears tormented with, as I am passing along the streets.

Good people, fare ye well; bad as I am, I leave many worse behind me. I hope you shall see me die like a man the death of a dog.

THE

THE INTELLIGENCER. *

NUMBER I.

IT may be said, without offence to other *cities* of much greater consequence to the world, that our town of Dublin doth not want its due proportion of *folly* and *vice* both native and imported; and as to those imported, we have the advantage

* The *Intelligencer* was a weekly paper, undertaken by the Dean and Dr. Sheridan in 1728, of which no more than twenty numbers were ever published. The 1st, 3d, 5th, 7th, 9th, some verses in the 8th, and at the end of the 10th, the 15th, and the 19th, were written by the Dean. The 5th and 7th, are put together, and printed as they were published by Mr. Pope in the 4th volume of their miscellanies, under the title of *An Essay on the Fates of Clergymen*, vol. 10th. The poetry in the 8th, is the dialogue between *Mad Meulynox* and *Timothy*, which is printed, as it was also classed by Mr. Pope, in vol. 8th. The 9th he intitled *An Essay on Modern Education*, and by that name it will be found in vol. 10th; the verses at the end of the 10th, called *Tim and the Fables*, are printed in vol. 9th. The 15th is a pamphlet which Dr. Sheridan, having written a short introduction, took into the *Intelligencer*, merely to save the labour of writing a paper. It is printed in volume 4th, and intitled, *A short View of the State of Ireland*. No. 19th, is also a tract which has been before published by itself, and was taken into the *Intelligencer* for the same reason as the former. The Dean and the Doctor soon became weary of a periodical work, in which they were disappointed of assistance: the price was but one half-penny; and so few were sold, that the printer could not afford to engage a young man of proper qualifications to work up such hints as should be sent him; of which there were enow, and which the undertakers hoped thus to communicate with less labour to the public. The *Intelligencers* were collected into a volume, and reprinted in England in 1730.

advantage to receive them last, and consequently, after our happy manner, to improve and refine upon them.

But, because there are many effects of *folly* and *vice* among us, whereof some are *general*, others confined to smaller numbers, and others again perhaps to a few *individuals*; there is a *society* lately established, who, at great expence, have erected an *office of intelligence*, from which they are to receive weekly information of all *important events* and *singularities*, which this famous *metropolis* can furnish. Strict injunctions are given to have the truest information; in order to which, certain qualified persons are employed to attend upon duty in their several posts; some at the *play-house*, others in *churches*, some at *balls*, *assemblies*, *coffee-houses*, and *meetings* for *quadrille*; some at the several *courts of justice*, both *spiritual* and *temporal*; some at the *college*, some upon my *lord-mayor* and *aldermen* in their public affairs; lastly, some to converse with *favourite chamber-maids*, and to frequent those *ale-houses* and *brandy-shops* where the *footmen* of great families meet in a morning; only the * *Barracks* and *parliament-house* are excepted: because we have yet found no † *enfants perdus* bold enough to venture their persons at either. Out of these, and some other *store-houses*, we hope to gather materials enow to *inform*, or *divert*, or *correct*, or *vex* the town.

VOL. IV.

K k

But

* Barracks, Buildings for the lodgement of soldiers.

† *Enfans perdus*, Forlorn hope. See preface to the Bishop of Sarum's introduction, vol. 7.

But as *facts, passages, and adventures* of all kinds are like to have the greatest share in our *paper*, whereof we cannot always answer for the truth; due care shall be taken to have them applied to feigned names, whereby all just offence will be removed; for, if none be guilty, none will have cause to blush or be angry; if otherwise, then the guilty person is safe for the future upon his *present* amendment, and safe for the *present* from all but his *own conscience*.

There is another resolution taken among us, which I fear will give a greater and more general discontent, and is of so singular a nature, that I have hardly confidence enough to mention it, although it be absolutely necessary by way of apology for *so bold and unpopular an attempt*. But so it is, that we have taken a desperate counsel to produce into the world every distinguished action, either of *justice, prudence, generosity, charity, friendship, or public spirit*, which comes well attested to us. And although we shall neither here be so daring as to assign names, yet we shall hardly forbear to give some hints, that, perhaps, to the great displeasure of such deserving persons, may endanger a discovery. For we think that even *virtue itself* should submit to such a *mortification*, as by its *visibility* and example will render it more useful to the world. But however, the *readers* of these *papers* need not be in pain of being overcharged with so dull and ungrateful a subject. And yet, who knows but such an occasion may be offered to us once in a year or two,
after

after we have settled a correspondence round the kingdom?

But after all our boasts of *materials* sent us by our several *emissaries*, we may probably soon fall short, if the town will not be pleased to lend us further assistance towards entertaining itself. The world best knows its own *faults* and *virtues*, and whatever is sent shall be faithfully returned back, only a little embellished according to the custom of AUTHORS. We do therefore demand and expect continual *advertisements* in great numbers to be sent to the PRINTER of this paper, who hath employed a *judicious secretary* to collect such as may be most useful for the public.

And although we do not intend to expose our own persons by mentioning names, yet we are so far from requiring the same caution in our correspondence, that, on the contrary, we expressly charge and command them, in all the facts they send us, to set down the names, titles, and places of abode, at length; together with a very particular description of the *persons*, *dresses*, *dispositions* of the several *lords*, *ladies*, *'squires*, *madams*, *lawyers*, *gamesters*, *toupees*, *sots*, *wits*, *rakes*, and *informers*, whom they shall have occasion to mention; otherwise it will not be possible for us to adjust our style to the different qualities and capacities of the persons concerned, and treat them with the respect or familiarity, that may be due to their *stations* and *characters*, which we are determined to observe with the utmost strictness, that none may have cause to complain.

NUMBER III.

*Ipse per omnes**Ibit personas, et turbam reddet in unam.*

THE *players* having now almost done with the comedy called the Beggar's Opera for the season, it may be no unpleasant speculation, to reflect a little upon this *dramatic piece*, so singular in the subject and manner, so much an original, and which hath frequently given so very agreeable an entertainment.

Although an evil taste be very apt to prevail, both here and in London; yet there is a point, which, whoever can rightly touch, will never fail of pleasing a very great majority; so great, that the dislikers out of dulness or affectation, will be silent, and forced to fall in with the herd: the point I mean, is what we call *humour*; which, in its perfection, is allowed to be much preferable to *wit*; if it be not rather the most useful and agreeable species of it.

I agree with Sir William Temple, that the word is peculiar to our English *tongue*; but I differ from him in the opinion, that the thing itself is peculiar to the English *nation*, because the contrary may be found in many Spanish, Italian, and French productions: and particularly, whoever hath a *taste* for *true humour* will find an hundred instances of it in those volumes printed in France under the name of *Le Theatre Italien*; to say nothing of Rabelais, Cervantes, and many others.

Now

Now I take the *comedy*, or *farce*, (or whatever name the *critics* will allow it) called the Beggar's Opera, to excel in this article of *humour*; and upon that merit, to have met with such prodigious success, both here and in England.

As to *poetry*, *eloquence*, and *music*, which are said to have most power over the minds of men; it is certain that very few have a *taste* or *judgement* of the excellencies of the two former: and if a man succeed in either, it is upon the authority of those *few judges*, that lend their *taste* to the bulk of readers, who have none of their own. I am told there are as few good judges in *music*; and that among those who crowd the *operas*, nine in ten go thither merely out of *curiosity*, *fashion*, or *affectation*.

But a *taste* for *humour* is in some manner fixed to the very nature of man, and generally obvious to the vulgar, except upon subjects too refined, and superior to their understanding.

And, as this *taste* of *humour* is purely natural, so is *humour* itself; neither is it a *talent* confined to men of *wit* or *learning*: for we observe it sometimes among common servants, and the meanest of the people, while the very owners are often ignorant of the gift they possess.

I know very well, that this happy *talent* is contemptibly treated by *critics* under the name of *low humour*, or *low comedy*; but I know likewise that the Spaniards and Italians, who are allowed to have the most wit of any nations in Europe, do most excel in it, and do most esteem it.

By what disposition of the mind, what influence of the stars, or what situation of the *climate*, this endowment is bestowed upon mankind, may be a question fit for *philosophers* to discuss. It is certainly the best ingredient towards that kind of satire, which is most useful and gives the least offence; which, instead of lashing, laughs men out of their follies and vices; and is the character, that gives Horace the preference to Juvenal.

And, although some things are too serious, solemn, or sacred to be turned into ridicule, yet the abuses of them are certainly not; since it is allowed that corruptions in *religion*, *politics*, and *law*, may be proper *topics* for this kind of *satire*.

There are two ends, that men propose in writing satire: one of them less noble than the other, as regarding nothing further than the private satisfaction and pleasure of the writer; but without any view towards *personal malice*: the other is a *public spirit*, prompting men of *genius* and virtue to mend the world as far as they are able. And as both these ends are innocent, so the latter is highly commendable. With regard to the former, I demand, whether I have not as good a title to laugh as men have to be ridiculous; and to expose vice, as another hath to be vicious. If I ridicule the follies and corruptions of a *court*, a *ministry*, or a *senate*, are they not amply paid by *pensions*, *titles*, and *power*, while I expect and desire no other reward, than that of laughing with a few friends in a corner? Yet if those, who take offence,

fence, think me in the wrong, I am ready to change the scene with them whenever they please.

But, if my design be to make mankind better, then I think it is my duty; at least, I am sure it is the interest of those very *courts* and *ministers*, whose follies or vices I ridicule, to reward me for my good intentions: for if it be reckoned a high point of wisdom to get the laughers on our side; it is much more easy, as well as wise, to get those on our side, who can make millions laugh when they please.

My reason for mentioning *courts* and *ministers*, (*whom I never think on but with the most profound veneration*) is, because an opinion obtains, that in the Beggar's Opera there appears to be some reflection upon *courtiers* and *statesmen*, whereof I am by no means a judge.

It is true indeed, that Mr. GAY, the author of this piece, hath been somewhat singular in the course of his fortunes; for it hath happened, that after fourteen years attending the *court*, with a large stock of real merit, a modest and agreeable conversation, a *hundred promises*, and *five hundred friends*, he hath failed of preferment; and upon a very weighty reason; he lay under the suspicion of having written a libel, or lampoon against a great * minister. It is true, that great minister was demonstratively convinced, and publicly owned his conviction, that Mr. GAY was not the author; but having lain under the suspicion, it seemed very just, that he should suffer the punishment;

* Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford.

nishment; because, in this most reformed age, the virtues of a prime minister are no more to be suspected, than the chastity of Cæsar's wife.

It must be allowed, that the Beggar's Opera is not the first of Mr. GAY's works, wherein he hath been faulty with regard to *courtiers* and *statesmen*. For to omit his other pieces; even in his fables, published within two years past, and dedicated to the duke of CUMBERLAND, for which he was promised a reward, he hath been thought somewhat too bold upon the *courtiers*. And although it be highly probable, he meant only the courtiers of former times, yet he acted unwarily, by not considering, that the malignity of some people might misinterpret what he said to the disadvantage of present *persons* and affairs.

But I have now done with Mr. Gay as a politician; and shall consider him henceforward only as author of the Beggar's Opera, wherein he hath, by a turn of *humour*, entirely new, placed vices of all kinds, in the strongest and most odious light; and thereby done eminent service both to *religion* and *morality*. This appears from the unparalleled success he hath met with: all *ranks*, *parties*, and *denominations* of men, either crowding to see his *opera*, or reading it with delight in their closets; even ministers of state, whom he is thought to have most offended (next to those whom the actors represent) appearing frequently at the *theatre*, from a consciousness of their own innocence, and to convince the world
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how unjust a parallel, *malice, envy, and disaffection to the government* have made.

I am assured, that several worthy *clergymen* in this city, went privately to see the Beggar's Opera represented; and that the *fleering concombs* in the pit, amused themselves with making discoveries, and spreading the names of those gentlemen round the audience.

I shall not pretend to vindicate a *clergyman*, who would appear openly in his habit at a *theatre*, with such a vicious crew as might probably stand round him, at such *comedies* and profane *tragedies* as are often represented. Besides, I know very well, that persons of their function are bound to avoid the appearance of evil, or of giving cause of offence. But when the *lord chancellors*, who are keepers of the king's conscience; when the *judges* of the land, whose title is *reverend*; when *ladies*, who are bound, by the rules of their sex, to the strictest decency, appear in the *theatre* without censure; I cannot understand, why a young *clergyman*, who goes concealed, out of curiosity, to see an innocent and moral play, should be so highly condemned: nor do I much approve the rigour of a great prelate, who said, *He hoped none of his clergy were there.* I am glad to hear there are no weightier objections against that reverend body planted in this city, and I wish there never may. But I should be very sorry, that any of them should be so weak, as to imitate a *court-chaplain* in ENGLAND, who preached against the Beggar's Opera, which will probably do

do more good, than a thousand sermons of so stupid, so injudicious, and so prostitute a divine. *

In this happy performance of Mr. GAY, all the characters are just, and none of them carried beyond nature, or hardly beyond practice. It discovers the whole system of that commonwealth, or that *imperium in imperio* of iniquity, established among us, by which neither our lives, nor our properties are secure, either in the high-ways, or in public assemblies, or even in our own houses. It shews the miserable lives, and the constant fate of those abandoned wretches: for how little they sell their lives and souls; betrayed by their *whores*, their *comrades*, and the *receivers* and *purchasers* of those thefts and robberies. This *comedy* contains likewise a *satire*, which, without enquiring whether it affects the present age, may possibly be useful in times to come. I mean, where the author takes the occasion of comparing those *common robbers of the public*, and their several stratagems of betraying, undermining, and hanging each other, to the several arts of *politicians* in times of corruption.

This *comedy* likewise exposeth, with great justice, that unnatural taste for Italian music among us, which is wholly unsuitable to our northern *climate*, and the genius of the people, whereby we are over-run with Italian *effeminacy*, and Italian nonsense. An old gentleman said to me, that
many

* Dr. Thomas Heron, chaplain to the society at Lincoln's inn, afterward bishop of Bangor, after that archbishop of York, and now archbishop of Canterbury.

many years ago, when the practice of an unnatural vice grew frequent in London, and many were prosecuted for it, he was sure it would be the forerunner of Italian operas and fingers; and then we should want nothing but stabbing, or poisoning, to make us perfect Italians.

Upon the whole, I deliver my judgment, that nothing but servile attachment to a party, affectation of singularity, lamentable dullness, mistaken zeal, or studied hypocrisy, can have the least reasonable objection against this excellent moral performance of the celebrated Mr. GAY.

N U M B E R X V. *

LAMENTATIONS ii. 19.

Arise, cry out in the night : in the beginning of the watches, pour out thine heart like water before the face of the Lord : lift up thy hands towards him, for the life of thy young children, that faint for hunger in the top of every street.

I Remember to have read an account, that an ode which Pindar writ in honour of the island Delos, was inscribed in the temple of Minerva at Athens, in large letters of gold. A public and very laudable acknowledgement for the poet's ingenuity, and for no more than a bare compliment! Such was the encouragement given by the great and public spirited Athenians. Had the same poet, inspired by a noble and heroic ardor,

* See above, p. 384. in the notes.

dor, by another ode, awakened and roused their whole state against an invading enemy, or opened their eyes against any secret and wicked contrivers of their destruction, they would have erected him a statue at least. But, alas! that spirit is fled from the world, and long since neglected. Virtue is become her own pay-master. My countrymen, I hope, will forgive me, if I complain there has been so little notice taken of a small, but most excellent pamphlet, written by the *Drapier*. It is entitled, *A short view of the state of Ireland* [above, p. 113.]—There never was any treatise yet published, with a zeal more generous for the universal good of a nation, or a design more seasonable, considering our present lamentable condition: yet we listen not to the voice of the charmer. Whereas it should have been inscribed in capital letters (as glorious as those of the poet) in the most public part of every corporation-town, through this whole kingdom, that people might behold the several unprovoked causes of their poverty, our offences towards heaven excepted. Nay, I will proceed farther, and say, that every head of every family ought to instruct his children, so far in this most *incomparable pamphlet*, that they should not only understand, but be able to repeat by heart, every single paragraph through the whole. This was the method laid down by the wisest law-giver that ever the world produced, to gain the hearts of the people, by working upon their memories: Deut. vi. 7. 8. 9. *And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children,*

children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.

And where would be the great trouble, since we have little else to do, if every man would read a lecture of the *short view* every day in his family, after reading prayers? Nor do I think the expence would be extravagant, if he should have every page of it reprinted, to be hung up in frames, in every chamber of his house; that it might be as evident as the *hand-writing on the wall*.

And since I have ventured thus far to praise and recommend this most inimitable piece, let me speak a few words in favour of its author.

I would propose to my countrymen, before all their money goes off (it is going as fast as possible) to convert it into a few statues to the *Drapier*, in those memorable parts of this kingdom, where our heroes have shone with the greatest lustre, in defence of our *liberty*, and the *Protestant Religion* over all Europe; at *Derry*, at *Enniskillen*, at *Boyne*, at *Aughrim*. Nor would it be amiss to set up a few more about our *metropolis*, with that glorious inscription, *Libertas et Natale Solum*.

If our money were metamorphosed upon such a good occasion as this, it would not be in the power of any Cypselus *, to get it into his own

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coffers;

* Cypselus, a governor of Corinth, who contrived a tax which brought all the money of that state to himself in ten years time. *Arist. Polit.*

coffers; and it would be the only method to prevent its being carried off, except our viceroys should act like the Roman prefects, and run away with our very statues.

Courteous reader, mark well what follows.

"I am assured, that it hath for some time been practised," &c. [Here *the short view of the state of Ireland*, above, p. 113. was inserted verbatim.]

NUMBER XIX.

Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis, oves.

[N. B. In the following discourse the author personates a country gentleman in the North of Ireland. And this letter is supposed as directed to the Drapier.]

HAVING, on the 12th of October last, received a letter, signed *Andrew Dealer*, and *Patrick Pennylefs*, I believe the following paper, just come to my hands, will be a sufficient answer to it.

S I R,

I AM a country gentleman, and a member of parliament, with an estate of about 1400 l. a year; which, as a *northern* landlord, I receive from above two hundred tenants: and my lands having been let near twenty years ago, the rents, until very lately, were esteemed to be not above half value; yet by the intolerable scarcity of *silver*, I lie under the greatest difficulties in receiving them, as well as in paying my labourers, or buying any thing necessary for my family from tradesmen,

tradesmen, who are not able to be long out of their *money*. But the sufferings of me, and those of my rank, are trifles in comparison of what the meaner sort undergo; such as, the *buyers* and *sell-ers* at *fairs* and *markets*; the *shopkeepers* in every *town*; the *farmers* in general; all those who travel with *fish*, *poultry*, *pedlary ware*, and other conveniencies to sell; but more especially *handicrafts-men*, who work for us by the day; and common labourers, whom I have already mentioned. Both these kind of people I am forced to employ until their wages amount to a *double pistole*, or a *moidore*, (for we hardly have any *gold* of lower value left us) to divide it among themselves as they can: and this is generally done at an *ale-house*, or *brandy-shop*; where, besides the cost of getting *drunk*, (which is usually the case) they must pay *ten-pence* or a *shilling* for changing their *piece* into *silver* to some *huckstering fellow*, who follows that trade. But, what is infinitely worse, those poor men, for want of due payment, are forced to take up their *oat meal* and other necessaries of life at almost double value; and consequently, are not able to discharge half their score, especially under the scarceness of *corn* for two years past, and the melancholy disappointment of the present *crop*.

The causes of this, and a thousand other evils, are clear and manifest to you and all thinking men, although hidden from the vulgar: these indeed complain of hard times, the dearth of corn, the want of money, the badness of seasons; that their goods bear no price, and the poor cannot

find work : but their weak reasonings never carry them to the hatred and contempt borne us by our neighbours and brethren without the least grounds of provocation, who rejoice at our sufferings, although sometimes to their own disadvantage. They consider not the dead weight upon every beneficial branch of our trade ; that half our revenues are annually sent to England ; with many other grievances peculiar to this unhappy kingdom ; which keeps us from enjoying the common benefits of mankind ; as you and some other lovers of their country have so often observed with such good inclinations, and so little effect.

It is true indeed, that under our circumstances in general, this complaint for the want of *silver* may appear as ridiculous, as for a man to be impatient about a *cut finger*, when he is struck with the *plague* : and yet a poor fellow going to the *gallows* may be allowed to feel the smart of *wasps*, while he is upon Tyburn road. This misfortune is so urging and vexatious in every kind of small traffic, and so hourly pressing upon all persons in the country whatsoever, that a hundred inconveniences of perhaps greater moment in themselves, have been tamely submitted to with far less disquietude and murmurs. And the case seems yet the harder, if it be true, what many skilful men assert, that nothing is more easy than a remedy ; and, that the want of *silver*, in proportion to the little *gold* remaining among us, is altogether as unnecessary as it is inconvenient. A person of distinction assured me very lately, that, in discoursing with
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the * lord lieutenant before his last return to England, his excellency said, *He had pressed the matter often, in proper time and place, and to proper persons; and could not see any difficulty of the least moment, that could prevent us from being made easy upon this article.*

Whoever carries to England twenty seven English shillings, and brings back one *moidore* of full weight, is a gainer of nine-pence Irish: in a guinea, the advantage is three-pence; and two-pence in a *pistole*. The BANKERS, who are generally masters of all our gold and silver, with this advantage, have sent over as much of the latter, as came into their hands. The value of one thousand *moidores* in silver would thus amount in clear profit to 37 l. 10 s. The shopkeepers, and other traders, who go to London to buy goods, followed the same practice; by which we have been driven into this insupportable distress.

To a common thinker it should seem, that nothing would be more easy, than for the government to redress this evil, at any time they shall please. When the value of guineas was lowered in England from 21 s. 6 d. to only 21 s. the consequences to this kingdom were obvious and manifest to us all: and a sober man may be allowed at least to wonder, although he dare not complain, why a new regulation of coin among us was not then made; much more, why it hath never been since. It would surely require no very profound skill in algebra to reduce the difference of nine-pence in thirty shillings, or three-pence in a guinea,

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to

* The Lord Carteret.

to less than a *farthing*; and so small a fraction could be no temptation either to *bankers* to hazard their *silver* at sea, or tradesmen to load themselves with it in their journies to England. In my humble opinion it would be no unseasonable condescension, if the *government* would graciously please to signify to the *poor loyal protestant subjects* of Ireland, either that this miserable want of *silver* is not possible to be remedied in any degree by the nicest skill in arithmetic; or else, that it doth not stand with the good pleasure of England, to suffer any *silver* at all among us. In the former case, it would be madness to expect impossibilities; and in the other, we must submit: for lives and fortunes are always at the mercy of the *conqueror*.

The question hath been often put in *printed papers*, by the *Drapier* and others, or perhaps by the same *writer* under different styles, why this kingdom should not be permitted to have a *mint* of its own for the coinage of *gold, silver* and *copper*; which is a power exercised by many *bishops*, and every petty prince in Germany? But this question hath never been answered; nor the least application, that I have heard of, made to the *crown* from hence, for the grant of a *public mint*; although it stands upon record, that several cities and corporations here had the liberty of *coining silver*. I can see no reasons, why we alone of all nations are thus restrained, but such as I dare not mention: only thus far I may venture, that Ireland is the first imperial kingdom
since

since Nimrod, which ever wanted power to *coin* their own *money*.

I know very well, that in England it is lawful for any subject to petition either the *prince* or the *parliament*, provided it be done in a dutiful and regular manner: but what is lawful for a subject of Ireland, I profess I cannot determine: nor will undertake, that your *printer* shall not be prosecuted in a *court of justice*, for publishing my *wishes*, that a poor shop-keeper might be able to change a *guinea* or a *moidore* when a customer comes for a *crown's* worth of goods. I have known less crimes punished with the utmost severity, under the title of *disaffection*. And I cannot but approve the wisdom of the *ancients*, who, after *Astrea* had fled from the earth, at least took care to provide *three upright judges for hell*. *Mens* ears among us are indeed grown so nice, that whoever happens to think out of fashion, in what relates to the welfare of this kingdom, dare not so much as complain of the *toothach*, lest our weak and busy dabblers in politics should be ready to swear against him for *disaffection*.

There was a method practised by Sir Ambrose Crawley, the great dealer in *iron-works*, which I wonder the gentlemen of our country under this great exigence have not thought fit to imitate. In the several towns and villages where he dealt, and many miles round, he gave *notes* instead of *money* (from *two pence* to *twenty shillings*) which passed current in all shops and markets, as well as in houses, where meat or drink was sold. I

see

see no reason, why the like practice may not be introduced among us with some degree of success; or at least may not serve as a *poor* expedient in this our *blessed age of paper*; which as it dischargeth all our greatest payments, may be equally useful in the smaller, and may just keep us alive, until an English *act of parliament* shall forbid it.

I have been told, that among some of our poorest American colonies upon the continent, the people enjoy the liberty of cutting the little *money* among them into halves and quarters for the conveniencies of small traffic. How happy should we be, in comparison of our present condition, if the like privilege were granted to us of employing the sheers for want of a *mint*, upon our *foreign gold*, by clipping it into *half-crowns*, and *shillings*, and even lower denominations; for beggars must be content to live upon scraps; and it would be our felicity, that these scraps would never be exported to other countries, while any thing better was left.

If neither of these projects will avail, I see nothing left us but to truck and barter our goods like the *wild* Indians with each other, or with our too powerful neighbours; only with this disadvantage on our side, that the Indians enjoy the product of their own land; whereas the better half of ours is sent away, without so much as a recompence in *bugles* or *glass* in return.

It must needs be a very comfortable circumstance in the present juncture, that some thousand families are gone, are going, or preparing
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to go from hence and settle themselves in America: the poorer sort for want of work; the farmers, whose beneficial bargains are now become a rack-rent too hard to be borne, and those who have any *ready money*, or can purchase any by the sale of their goods or leases, because they find their fortunes hourly decaying, that their goods will bear no price, and that few or none have any *money* to buy the very necessaries of life, are hastening to follow their departed neighbours. It is true, *corn* among us carries a very high price; but it is for the same reason, that *rats* and *cats* and dead *horses* have been often bought for *gold* in a town besieged.

There is a person of quality in my neighbourhood, who, twenty years ago, when he was just come to age, being unexperienced and of a generous temper, let his lands, even as times went then, at a low rate to able tenants; and consequently, by the rise of land since that time, looked upon his estate to be set at half value: but numbers of these tenants, or their descendants, are now offering to sell their leases by cant, * even those which were for lives, some of them renewable for ever, and some fee-farms, which the landlord himself hath bought in at half the price they would have yielded seven years ago. And some leases let at the same time for lives, have been given up to him without any consideration at all.

This is the most favourable face of things at present among us; I say among us of the North, who

* Cant or auction.

who are esteemed the only thriving people of the kingdom. And how far, and how soon this misery and desolation may spread, is easy to foresee.

The vast sums of *money* daily carried off by our numerous adventurers to America, have deprived us of our *gold* in these parts, almost as much as of our *silver*. And the good wives who come to our houses offer us their pieces of linen, upon which their whole dependence lies, for so little profit, that it can neither half pay their rents, nor half support their families.

It is remarkable, that this enthusiasm spread among our Northern people, of sheltering themselves in the continent of America, hath no other foundation than their present insupportable condition at home. I have made all possible inquiries to learn what encouragement our people have met with, by any intelligence from those plantations, sufficient to make them undertake so tedious and hazardous a voyage, in all seasons of the year, and so ill accommodated in their ships, that many of them have died miserably in their passage; but could never get one satisfactory answer. Somebody, they know not who, had written a letter to his friend or cousin from thence, inviting him by all means to come over; that it was a fine fruitful country, and to be held for ever at a *penny* an acre. But the truth of the fact is this: the English established in those colonies are in great want of men to inhabit that tract of ground, which lies between them and the *wild* Indians, who are not reduced under their dominion.

dominion. We read of some barbarous people, whom the Romans placed in their army for no other service than to blunt their enemies swords, and afterwards to fill up trenches with their dead bodies. And thus our people, who transport themselves, are settled in those interjacent tracts, as a screen against the insults of the *savages*; and may have as much lands as they can clear from the woods at a very reasonable rate, if they can afford to pay about a *hundred* years purchase by their labour. Now, besides the *fox's* reason, * which inclines all those who have already ventured thither to represent every thing in a false light, as well for justifying their own conduct, as for getting companions in their misery; the governing people in those plantations have also wisely provided, that no letters shall be suffered to pass from thence hither, without being first viewed by the council; by which our people here are wholly deceived in the opinions they have of the happy condition of their friends gone before them. This was accidentally discovered some months ago by an honest man, who having transported himself and family thither, and finding all things directly contrary to his hope, had the luck to convey a private note by a faithful hand to his relation here, entreating him not to think of such a voyage, and to discourage all his friends from attempting it. Yet this, although it be a truth well known, hath produced very little

* The fox who, having lost his tail, would have persuaded the rest to cut off theirs.

little effect ; which is no manner of wonder : for as it is natural to a man in a *fever* to turn often, although without any hope of ease ; or when he is pursued, to leap down a precipice to avoid an enemy just at his back ; so, men in the extremest degree of misery and want will naturally fly to the first appearance of relief, let it be ever so vain or visionary.

You may observe, that I have very superficially touched the subject I began with, and with the utmost caution : for I know how criminal the least complaint hath been thought, however seasonable, or just, or honestly intended ; which hath forced me to offer up my daily prayers, that it may never, at least in my time, be interpreted by inuendos as a false, scandalous, seditious, and disaffected action for a man to roar under an acute fit of the *gout* ; which, beside the loss and the danger, would be very inconvenient to one of my age, so severely afflicted with that distemper.

I wish you good success, but I can promise you little, in an ungrateful office you have taken up, without the least view either to reputation or profit. Perhaps your comfort is, that none but *villains* and *betrayers* of their country can be your *enemies*. Upon which I have little to say, having not the honour to be acquainted with many of that sort ; and therefore, as you may easily believe, am compelled to lead a very retired life.

I am, Sir, Your most obedient, humble servant,

County of Down,
Dec. 2. 1728.

A. NORTH.

A short

[409]
A short CHARACTER of his Excellency THOMAS EARL of WHARTON, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland;—With an Account of some smaller Facts during his Government, which will not be put into the Articles of Impeachment.

Aug. 30. 1710.

THE kingdom of Ireland being governed by deputation from hence, its annals, since the English establishment, are usually digested under the heads of the several governors; but the affairs and events of that island, for some years past, have been either so insignificant, or so annexed to those of England, that they have not furnished matter of any great importance to history. The share of honour, which gentlemen from thence have had by their conduct and employments in the army, turns all to the article of this kingdom; the rest, which relates to politics or the art of government, is inconsiderable to the last degree, however it may be represented at court by those who preside there, and would value themselves upon every step they make, towards finishing the slavery of that people, as if it were gaining a mighty point to the advantage of England.

Generally speaking, the times which afford most plentiful matter for story, are those in which a man would least choose to live; such as under the various events and revolutions of war, the intrigues of a ruined faction, or the violence of a prevailing one, and lastly, the arbitrary, un-

lawful acts of oppressing governors. In the war, Ireland has no share but in subordination to us; the same may be said of their factions, which, at present, are but imperfect transcripts of ours: but the third subject for history, which is arbitrary power and oppression, as it is that by which the people of Ireland have, for some time, been distinguished from all her majesty's subjects, so being now at its greatest height under his excellency T. E. of W. a short account of his government, may be of some use or entertainment to the present age, though I hope it will be incredible to the next. And because this account may be judged rather an history of his excellency, than of his government, I must here declare that I have not the least view to his person in any part of it. I have had the honour of much conversation with his lordship, and am thoroughly convinced how indifferent he is to applause, and how insensible of reproach: which is not a humour put on to serve a turn, or keep a countenance, nor arising from the consciousness of innocence, or any grandeur of mind, but the mere unaffected bent of his nature.

He is without the sense of shame or glory, as some men are without the sense of smelling, and, therefore, a good name to him is no more than a precious ointment would be to these. Whoever, for the sake of others, were to describe the nature of a serpent, a wolf, a crocodile, or a fox, must be understood to do it without any personal love or hatred for the animals themselves.

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In the same manner, his excellency is one whom I neither personally love nor hate. I see him at court, at his own house, and sometimes at mine, (for I have the honour of his visits) and when these papers are public, it is odds but he will tell me, as he once did upon a like occasion, that he is damnably mauled; and then with the easiest transition in the world, ask about the weather, or time of the day: so that I enter on the work with more chearfulness, because I am sure neither to make him angry, nor any way hurt his reputation; a pitch of happiness and security to which his excellency has arrived, and which no philosopher before him could reach.

I intend to execute this performance, by first giving a character of his excellency, and then relating some facts during his government, which will serve to confirm it.

I know very well, that mens characters are best known from their actions; but, these being confined to his administration in Ireland, his character may, perhaps, take in something more, which the narrowness of the time, or the scene, hath not given him opportunity to exert.

T——s earl of W——n, l——d l———t of I——d, by the force of a wonderful constitution, hath passed, some years, his grand climacteric, without any visible effects of old age, either on his body or his mind, and in spite of a continual prostitution to those vices which usually wear out both. His behaviour is in all the forms of a young man at five and twenty. Whe-

ther he walks, or whistles, or swears, or talks bawdy, or calls names, he acquits himself in each beyond a templar of three years standing. With the same grace, and in the same style, he will rattle his coachman in the middle of the street, where he is governor of the kingdom: and all this is without consequence, because it is in his character, and what every body expects. He seems to be but an ill dissembler, and an ill liar, though they are the two talents he most practises, and most values himself upon. The ends he has gained by lying, appeared to be more owing to the frequency, than the art of them: his lies being sometimes detected in an hour, often in a day, and always in a week. He tells them freely in mixed companies, though he knows half of those that hear him to be his enemies, and is sure they will discover them the moment they leave him. He swears solemnly he loves, and will serve you; and your back is no sooner turned, but he tells those about him you are a dog and a rascal. He goes constantly to prayers, in the forms of his place, and will talk bawdy and blasphemy at the chapel door. He is a presbyterian in politics, and an atheist in religion; but he chooses at present to whore with a papist. In his commerce with mankind, his general rule is, to endeavour to impose on their understanding; for which he has but one receipt, a composition of lies and oaths: and this he applies indifferently to a freeholder of forty shillings and a privy counsellor; by which the easy and the honest are often

often either deceived or amused; and, either way, he gains his point. He will openly take away your employment to-day, because you are not of his party; to-morrow he will meet or send for you, as if nothing at all had passed, lay his hands, with much friendship, on your shoulders, and, with the greatest ease and familiarity, tell you, that the faction are driving at something in the house; that you must be sure to attend, and to speak to all your friends to be there, though he knows, at the same time, that you and your friends are against him in the very point he mentions: and, however absurd, ridiculous and gross this may appear, he has often found it successful, some men having such an awkward bashfulness, they know not how to refuse on a sudden, and every man having something to fear or hope, which often hinders them from driving things to extremes with persons of power, whatever provocations they may have received. He hath sunk his fortune, by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom, and hath raised it by going far in the ruin of another. With a good natural understanding, a great fluency in speaking, and no ill taste of wit, he is generally the worst companion in the world; his thoughts being wholly taken up between vice and politics; so that bawdy, profaneness, and business, fill up his whole conversation. To gratify himself in the two first, he makes use of suitable favourites, whose talents reach no higher than to entertain him with all the lewdness that passes in town. As for business, he is said to be very dex-

terous at that part of it which turns upon intrigue; and he seems to have transferred those talents of his youth for intriguing with women, into public affairs. For, as some vain young fellows, to make a gallantry appear of consequence, will choose to venture their necks, by climbing up a wall or window at midnight to a common wench, where they might as freely have gone in at the door, and at noon-day; so his excellency, either to keep himself in practice, or advance the fame of his politics, affects the most obscure, troublesome and winding paths, even in the most common affairs, those which would be brought about as well in the ordinary forms, or would follow, of course, whether he intervened or not.

He bears the gallantries of his lady with the indifference of a stoic; and thinks them well recompensed by a return of children to support his family, without the fatigues of being a father. He has three predominant passions, which you will seldom find united in the same man, as arising from different dispositions of mind, and naturally thwarting each other: these are, love of power, love of money, and love of pleasure; they ride him sometimes by turns, and sometimes all together: since he went into Ireland, he seems most disposed to the second, and has met with great success, having gained by his government of under two years, five and forty thousand pounds, by the most favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the prudential.

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He was never yet known to refuse or keep a promise. But here I desire to distinguish between a promise and a bargain; for he will be sure to keep the latter, when he has the fairest offer.

Thus much for his excellency's character: I shall now proceed to his actions, only during the time he was governor of Ireland, which were transmitted to me by an eminent person in business there, who had all opportunities of being well informed, and whose employment did not lie at his excellency's mercy.

This intelligence being made up of several facts independent of each other, I shall hardly be able to relate them in due order of time, my correspondent omitting that circumstance, and transmitting them to me just as he recollected them; so that the gentlemen of that kingdom, now in town, will, I hope, pardon me any slips I shall make in that or any other kind, while I keep exactly to the truth.

Thomas Proby, Esq; chirurgion-general of Ireland, a person universally esteemed, and whom I have formerly seen here, had built a country house, half a mile from Dublin, adjoining to the park. In a corner of the park, just under his house, he was much annoyed with a dog-kennel, which belonged to the government; upon which he applied to Thomas earl of Pembroke, then lord lieutenant, and to the commissioners of the revenue, for a lease of about five acres of that part of the park. His petition was referred to the lord treasurer here, and sent back for a report,

port, which was in his favour, and the bargain so hard, that the lord treasurer struck off some part of the rent: he had a lease granted him, for which he was to build another kennel, provide ice yearly for the government, and pay a certain rent: the land might be worth about thirty shillings an acre. His excellency, soon after his arrival in Ireland, was told of this lease, and, by his absolute authority, commanded Mr. Proby to surrender up the land; which he was forced to do, after all the expence he had been at, or else must have expected to lose his employment: at the same time, he is under an obligation to pay his rent, and I think he does it to this day. There are several circumstances in this story which I have forgot, having not been sent to me with the rest; but I had it from a gentleman of that kingdom, who some time ago was here.

Upon his excellency's being declared lord lieutenant, there came over to make his court one Dr. L—d, f—w of D—n C—ge, noted in that kingdom for being the only clergyman that declared for taking off the sacramental test, as he did openly in their convocation, of which he was a member. The merit of this, and some other principles suitable to it, recommended by Tom B—d—k, so far ingratiated him with his excellency, that being provided of a *proper chaplain* already, he took him however into a great degree of favour: the Doctor attended his excellency to Ireland; and observing a cast wench in the family to be in much confidence with my lady,

lady, he thought, by addressing there, to have a short open passage to preferment. He met with great success in his amour; and walking one day with his mistress, after my lord and lady, in the castle garden, my lady said to his excellency, "What do you think? we are going to lose poor "Foydy," a name of fondness they usually gave her. "How do you mean?" said my lord. "Why, the doctor behind us is resolved to take "her from us." "Is he, by G—d? why then " (G—d d—mn me) he shall have the first bishopric that falls." *

The doctor, thus encouraged, grew a most violent lover, returned with his excellency for England; and soon after the b——p—k of C—k falling void, to shew he meant fair, he married his damsel publicly here in London, and his excellency as honourably engaged his credit to get him the bishopric; but the matter was reckoned so infamous, that both the a—chb——ps here, especially his gr—ce of Y—k, interposed with the queen, to hinder so great a scandal to the church; and Dr. Brown, provost of Dublin college, being then in town, her majesty was pleased to nominate him: so that Dr. L—d was forced to sit down with a moderate deanery in the northern parts of that kingdom, and the additional comfort of a sweet lady, who brought this her first husband no other portion, than a couple of olive-branches

* It was confidently reported, as a conceit of his excellency, that, talking upon this subject, he once said, with great pleasure, that he hoped to make his w—e a b——p.

branches for his table, though she herself hardly knows by what hand they were planted.

The queen reserves all the great employments of Ireland to be given by herself, though often by the recommendation of the chief governor, according to his credit at court. The provostship of Dublin college is of this number, which was now vacant, upon the promotion of Dr. Brown; Dr. Benjamin P—tt, a fellow of that college, and chaplain to the house of commons of that kingdom, as well as domestic chaplain to the duke of Ormond, was at that time here, in attendance upon the Duke. He is a gentleman of good birth and fortune in Ireland, and lived here in a very decent figure: he is a person of wit and learning, has travelled and conversed in the best company, and was very much esteemed among us here, when I had the pleasure of his acquaintance: but he had the original sin of being a reputed Tory, and a dependent on the duke of Ormond: however, he had many friends among the bishops, and other nobility, to recommend him to the queen: at the same time, there was another fellow of that college, one Dr. Hall, who had much the advantage of P—tt in point of seniority; this gentleman had very little introduced himself into the world, but lived retired, though otherwise said to be an excellent person, and very deserving for his learning and sense: he had been recommended from Ireland by several persons; and his excellency, who had never before seen nor thought of him, after having tried to

injure

injure the college, by recommending persons from this side, at last set up H—ll, with all imaginable zeal, against P—tt. I tell this story the more fully, because it is affirmed, by his excellency's friends, that he never made more use of his court skill than at this time, to stop Dr. P—tt's promotion, not only from the personal hatred he had to the man, on account of his patron and principles, but that he might return to Ireland with some little opinion of his credit at court; which had mightily suffered by many disappointments, especially that of his chaplain Dr. L—d. It would be incredible to relate the many artifices he used to this end, of which the doctor had daily intelligence, and would fairly tell his excellency so at his levees, who sometimes could not conceal his surprize, and then would promise, with half a dozen oaths, never to concern himself one way or other: these were broke every day, and every day detected. One morning, after some expostulation between the doctor and his excellency, and a few additional oaths, that he would never oppose him more, his excellency went immediately to the bishop of E—y, and prevailed on him to go to the queen from him, and let her majesty know, that he never could consent, as long as he lived, that Dr. P—tt should be provost; which the bishop barely complied with, and delivered his message: though, at the same time, he did the doctor all the good offices he could. The next day the doctor was again with his excellency, and gave him thanks
for

for so open a proceeding; the affair was now past dissembling; and his excellency owned, he did not oppose him *directly*, but confessed he did it *collaterally*. The doctor, a little warmed, said, "No, my lord, you mean *directly* you did not, "but *indirectly* you did." The conclusion was, that the queen named the doctor to the place; and, as a further mortification, just upon the day of his excellency's departure for Ireland.

But here I must desire the reader's pardon, if I cannot digest the following facts in so good a manner as I intended; because it is thought expedient, for some reasons, that the world should be informed of his excellency's merits as soon as possible. I will therefore only transcribe the several passages as they were sent me from Dublin, without either correcting the stile, or adding any remarks of my own. As they are, they may serve for hints to any person, who may hereafter have a mind to write memoirs of his excellency's life.

A RELAT-

A RELATION of several FACTS, exactly as they were transmitted to me from Ireland about three Months ago, and at several times, from a Person of Quality, and in Employment there.

THE earl of Rochfort's regiment of dragoons was embarked for her majesty's service abroad, on the 27th of August 1709, and left their horses behind them, which were substituted in order to mount another regiment to fill up their room; as the horses of lieutenant-general Harvey's regiment had formerly mounted a regiment raised, and still commanded by the duke of Ormond; on which occasion the duke had her majesty's orders only for as much money as would supply the charge of the horses till the regiment was raised, which was soon after, and then it was put on the establishment, as other regiments. But that which was to supply the earl of Rochfort's, had not a commission granted till the 29th of April 1710, and all the pay from the 27th of August to that time (being above 5700*l*.) was taken under pretence of keeping the horses, buying new ones in the room of such as should be wanting or unserviceable, and for providing accoutrements for the men and horses. As for the last use, those are always produced out of the funds for providing cloathing, and the duke of Ormond did so: as for horses wanting, they are very few, and the captains have orders to pro-

vide them another way; the keeping the horses did not amount to 700 /. by the accounts laid before the committee of parliament; so there was at least 5000 /. charged to the nation, more than the real charge could amount to.

Mrs. L—d, at first coming over, expected the benefit of the box-money; and accordingly talked of selling it for about 200 /. but at last was told she must expect but part of it, and that the grooms of the chamber, and other servants, would deserve a consideration for their attendance; accordingly his excellency had it brought to him every night; and, to make it worth his receiving, my lady gave great encouragement to play: so that, by a moderate computation, it amounted to near 1000 /.; of which a small share was given to the grooms of the chamber, and the rest made a perquisite to his excellency. For Mrs. L—d having an husband, and a bishopric promised her, the other pretensions were cut off.

He met lieutenant general Langston in the court of requests, and presented a gentleman to him, saying, “ This is a particular friend of mine; he tells me he is a lieutenant in your regiment; I must desire you will take the first opportunity to give him a troop, and you will oblige me mightily.” The lieutenant-general answered, “ He had served very well, and had very good pretensions to a troop, and that he would give him the first that fell.” With this the gentleman was mighty well satisfied, returned thanks, and withdrew. Upon which his excellency

excellency said immediately, "I was forced to speak for him, as a great many of his friends have votes at elections; but, damn him, he is a rogue, therefore take no care for him."

He brought one M—y to the duke of Ormond, and recommended him as a very honest gentleman, and desired his grace would provide for him; which his grace promised. So M—y withdrew. As soon as he was gone, his lordship immediately said to the duke, "That fellow is the greatest rogue in Christendom."

Colonel C—w—d having received pay, for some time, in two or three regiments, as captain, but never done any other service to the crown than eating and drinking in the expedition to Cadiz under the duke of Ormond, finding he had not pretensions enough to rise, after he had sold the last employment he had, applied to his excellency, who represented him in such a light, that he got above 900*l.* as an arrear of half-pay, which he had no title to, and a pension of 10*s.* *per day*; but he reckoning this as much too little for his wants, as every body else did too much for his pretensions, gave in a second petition to the queen for a further addition of 10*s.* a day; which being referred to his excellency, he gave him a favourable report; by means whereof, it is hoped, his merit will be still farther rewarded. He turned out the poor gate-keeper of Chapel-izod gate, though he and his wife were each above sixty years old, without assigning any cause; and they are now starving.

As for the business of the arsenal, it was the product of chance, and never so much as thought of by the persons who, of late, have given so many good reasons for the building of it; till, upon enquiring into the funds, they were found to hold out so well, that there was a necessity of destroying sixty or seventy thousand pounds; otherwise, his excellency, for that time, could hardly have had the credit of taxing the kingdom: upon this occasion, many projects were proposed, all which, at last, gave way to the proposal of a worthy person, who had often persuaded the nation to do itself a great deal of harm, by attempting to do itself a little good; which was, that forty thousand arms should be provided for the militia, and ammunition in proportion, to be kept in four arsenals to be built for that purpose: this was accordingly put into the heads of a bill, and then this worthy patriot, with his usual sincerity, declared, he would not consent to the giving of money for any other use; as every body thought, by the words he spoke; though afterwards he shewed them, that his meaning was not to be known by the vulgar acceptation of words; for he not only gave his consent to the bill, but used all the art and industry he was master of, to have it pass; though the money was applied in it, to the building one arsenal only, and ammunition and other stores proportionable, without one word of the militia. So the arsenal was conceived, and afterwards formed in a proper manner; but when it came to be brought forth, his excellency took it out of the hands

hands that had formed it, as far as he could, and, contrary to all precedents, put it out of the care of the ordnance-board, who were properly to have taken care of the receipt and payment of the money, without any further charge to the public, and appointed his second secretary, Mr. Denton, to be paymaster, whose salary was a charge of above five hundred pounds in the whole: then, thinking this was too small a charge to put the public to for nothing, he made an establishment for that work, consisting of one superintendant at three pounds *per* week, eight overseers at seven pounds four shillings a-week, and sixteen assistants at seven pounds four shillings a-week, making in all seventeen pounds eight shillings a-week: and these were, for the greater part, persons who had no knowledge of such business; and their honesty was equal to their knowledge, as it has since appeared by the notorious cheats and neglects that have been made out against them, in so much, that the work that they have overseen, which, with their salary, has cost near 3000*l.* might have been done for less than 1800*l.* if it had been agreed for by the yard; which is the usual method, and was so proposed in the estimate. And this is all a certainty, because all that has been done, was only removing earth, which has been exactly computed by the yard, and might have been so agreed for.

Philip S—v—ge, Esq; as chancellor of the exchequer, demanded fees of the commissioners of the revenue for sealing writs in the queen's business,

ness, and shewed them for it some precedents; but they, not being well satisfied with them, wrote to Mr. South, one of the commissioners, then in London, to inquire into the practice there. He sent them word, upon inquiry, that fees were paid there, upon the like cases; so they adjudged it for him, and constantly paid him fees. If, therefore, there was a fault, it must ly at their door, for he never offered to stop the business; yet his excellency knew so well how to choose an attorney and solicitor-general, that, when the case was referred to them, they gave it against the chancellor, and said, he had forfeited his place by it, and ought to refund the money, being about two hundred pounds *per annum*; but never found any fault in the commissioners, who adjudged the case for him, and might have refused him the money, if they had thought fit.

Captain Robert F——d, father to the present e——l of K——e, had a grant from king Charles II. of the office of comptroller of the musters, during the lives of captain C——s B——n, now e——l of M——h, and George F——d, elder brother to the present e——l of K——e; which the said Robert F——d enjoyed, with a salary of 300 l. *per annum*, and, after his death, his son George enjoyed it; till my lord G——lw——y did, by threats, compel him to surrender the said patent for a pension of two hundred pounds *per annum*, which he enjoyed during his life. Some time ago, the present e——l of K——e, as heir to his father and brother, looked upon himself to be injured by the
surrender

surrender of said patent, which should have come to him, the e—l of M——h being still living: therefore, in order to right himself, did petition her majesty; which petition, as usual, was referred to the earl of Wharton, then lord lieutenant; who, being at that time in London, referred it, according to the common method on such occasions, to the lord chancellor and lieutenant-general Ingoldby, the then lords justices of this kingdom; who, for their information, ordered the attorney-general to enquire, whether the e—l of K——e had any legal title to said patent, which he, in a full report, said he had: and they referred it to the deputy vice-treasurer to enquire into the nature of the office, and to give them his opinion, whether he thought it was useful and necessary for her majesty's service. He gave in his report, and said, he thought it both useful and necessary; and, with more honesty than wit, gave the following reasons: first, that the muster-master general computed the pay of the whole military list, which is above two hundred thousand pounds *per annum*: so, having no check on him, might commit mistakes, to the great prejudice of the crown: and, secondly, because he had himself found out several of those mistakes, which a comptroller might prevent. The lords justices approved of these reasons, and so sent over their report to my lord lieutenant, that they thought the office useful and necessary; but colonel P——r, the muster-master general, being then in London, and having given my lord lieutenant

tenant one thousand pounds for his consent to enjoy that office, after he had got her majesty's orders for a patent, thought a check upon his office would be a troublesome spy upon him; so he pleaded the merit of his thousand pounds, and desired, in consideration thereof, that his excellency would free him from an office that would put it out of his power to wrong the crown; and, to strengthen his pretensions, put my lady in mind of what money he had lost to her at play; who immediately, out of a grateful sense of benefits received, railed as much against the lords justices report as ever she had done against the tories; and my lord lieutenant, prompted by the same virtue, made his report, that there needed no comptroller to that office, because he comptrolled it himself; which (now having given his word for it) he will, beyond all doubt, effectually for the future: though, since it has been plainly made appear, that, for want of some control in that office, her majesty has been wronged of many hundred pounds, by the roguery of a clerk; and that during the time of his excellency's government; of which there has been but a small part refunded, and the rest has not been enquired after, lest it should make it plainly appear, that a comptroller in that office is absolutely necessary.

His excellency being desirous, for a private reason, to provide for the worthless son of a worthless father, who had lately sold his company, and, of course, all pretensions to preferment in the army, took this opportunity: A captain in the old-
est

est regiment in the kingdom, being worn out with service, desired leave to sell; which was granted him; and accordingly, for a consideration agreed upon, he gave a resignation of his company to a person approved of by the commander of the regiment; who, at the same time, applied to his excellency for leave for another captain of his regiment, who is an engineer in her majesty's service in Spain, and absent by her majesty's licence: his excellency hearing that, said, they might give him a company in Spain, for he would dispose of this here; and so, notwithstanding all the commanders in the regiment could urge, he gave the company, which was regularly surrendered, to his worthy favourite; and the other company, which was a disputable title, to the gentleman who had paid his money for that which was surrendered. Talking one morning, as he was dressing, (at least a dozen people present) of the debates in council, about the affairs of Trim, he said, the lord chief justice D—— had laid down as law, a thing for which a man ought to have his gown stripped off, and be whipped at the cart's a—e; and, in less than a quarter of an hour, repeated the expression again: yet, some days after, sent Dr. L——d to assure his lordship, he said no such thing. Some time after, while he was in England, he used his utmost efforts with the queen to turn him out, but could not: and when he came once again, he took an opportunity (when the judges were to wait on him) to say to them, particularly to lord chief

chief justice D——, that, perhaps, some officious persons might spread stories, that he had endeavoured to do some of them a prejudice in England, which, he assured them, he never had; but, on the contrary, would always, without distinction, shew his regard according to merit; which the lord chief justice B—— was pleased to approve of, by saying, that was very honourable, that was very gracious; though he knew the contrary himself.

In England he bid Mr. Deering assure all his friends and acquaintance here, that they and every body might depend on his favour, as they behaved themselves; with which Mr. Deering was much pleased, and wrote over to his friends accordingly; and as soon as his back was turned, he jeeringly said, “D—mn me, how easily he is bit.” When the Duke of Ormond was in the government, he gave to Mr. Anderson Saunders the government of Wicklow-castle, which has no salary, but a perquisite of some land worth about 12 l. *per annum*, which Mr. Saunders gave to the free-school of the town; but his excellency, not liking either the person or the use, without any ceremony, or reason given, superseded him, by giving a commission for it to J—s the horse-courser, who lies under several odious and scandalous reflections, particularly of very narrowly escaping the gallows for coining. Some time after, his excellency landing the second time, he sent for Mr. Saunders, among others, desiring their good offices in the ensuing session, and that Mr. Saunders

ders would not take amiss his giving that place to J—s, for he assured him he did not know it belonged to him, which is highly probable, because men of his knowledge usually give away things, without enquiring how they are in their disposal. Mr. Saunders answered him, “ He was very glad “ to find what was done was not out of any particular displeasure to him, because Mr. Whitshed had said at Wicklow, by way of apology “ for what his excellency had done, that it was “ occasioned by Mr. Saunders having it; and “ seeing his excellency had no ill intention against “ him, was glad he could tell his excellency it was “ not legally given away, for he had a custom “ dium for the land out of the court of exchequer; so his excellency’s commission could do “ him no prejudice.”

Lieutenant-general Echlin had pay on this establishment as brigadier, till the middle of October 1708, when he was removed from it by his excellency, because his regiment went away at that time, and lieutenant-general G—— was put in his room. Some time after, major-general Rook, considering the reason why Echlin was removed, concluded, that G—— could not come on, till some time in February after, because his regiment was also out of the kingdom till that time; and therefore, he being the eldest general officer, that had no pay as such, was entitled to the brigadier’s pay, from the time Echlin was removed till G—— was qualified to receive it; he having done the duty. His excellency, upon hearing
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ing the reason, owned it to be a very good one, and told him if the money were not paid to G—he should have it, so bid him go see; which he did, and found it was: then his excellency told him he would refer his case to a court of general officers to give their opinion in it, which he said must needs be in his favour; and upon that ground he would find a way to do him right; yet when the general officers sat, he sent for several of them, and made them give the case against Rook.

When the prosecution against the dissenting ministers in Drogheda was depending, one Stephens, a lawyer in this town of Dublin, sent his excellency, then in London, a petition, in the name of the said dissenting minister, in behalf of himself and others who lay under any such prosecution; and, in about a fortnight's time, his excellency sent over a letter, to the then lords justices, to give the attorney and solicitor general's orders, to enter a *noli prosequi* to all such suits: which was done accordingly, though he never so much as enquired into the merit of the cause, or referred the petition to any body, which is a justice done to all men, let the case be never so light. He said he had her majesty's orders for it, but they did not appear under her hand; and it is generally affirmed he never had any.

That his excellency can descend to small gains, take this instance: there was 850*l.* ordered by her majesty to buy new liveries for the state trumpets, messengers, &c.; but with great industry he got them

them made cheaper by 200 l. which he saved out of that sum ; and it is reported, that his steward got a handsome consideration beside, from the undertaker.

The agent to his regiment, being so also to others, bought a lieutenant's commission in a regiment of foot, for which he never was to do any duty ; which service pleased his excellency so well, that he gave him leave to buy a company, and would have had him kept both ; but before his pleasure was known, the former was disposed of.

The lord lieutenant has no power to remove or put in a solicitor general without the queen's letter, it being one of those employments excepted out of his commission ; yet, because Sir R— L— disoblged him, by voting according to his opinion, he removed him, and put in Mr. F—, though he had no queen's letter for so doing, only a letter from Mr. Secretary Boyle that her majesty designed to remove him.

The privy council in Ireland, have a great share of the administration, all things being carried by the consent of the majority, and they sign all orders and proclamations there, as well as the chief governor. But his excellency disliked so great a share of power in any but himself : and when matters were debated in council, otherwise than he approved, he would stop them, and say, "*Come, my lords, I see how your opinions are, and therefore I will not take your votes ;*" and so would put an end to the dispute.

One of his chief favourites was a scandalous clergyman, a constant companion of his pleasures, who appeared publicly with his excellency, but never in his habit, and who was a hearer and sharer of all the lewd and blasphemous discourses of his excellency and his cabal. His excellency presented this worthy divine to one of the b—ps, with the following recommendation: “My lord, “M—— is a very honest fellow, and has no fault “but that he is a little too immoral.” He made this man chaplain to his regiment, though he had been so infamous, that a b——p in England refused to admit him to a living he had been presented to, till the patron forced him to it by law.

His excellency recommended the earl of I—— to be one of the lords justices in his absence, and was much mortified, when he found lieutenant-general I——by appointed, without any regard to his recommendation; particularly because the usual salary of a lord justice in the lord lieutenant’s absence, is 100 l. *per* month, and he had bargained with the earl for 40 l.

I will send you in a packet or two, some particulars of his excellency’s usage of the convocation, of his infamous intrigues with Mrs. C——ngsby, an account of his arbitrary proceedings about the election of a magistrate in Trim, his barbarous injustice to dean Jephson, and poor Will Crow; his deciding a case at hazard to get my lady twenty guineas, but in so scandalous and unfair a manner, that the arrantest sharper would be ashamed of; the common custom of playing

playing on Sunday in my lady's closet ; the *partie quarrée* between her ladyship and Mrs. L——d and two young fellows dining privately and frequently at Clontarf, where they used to go in a hackney coach ; and his excellency's making no scruple of dining in a hedge tavern whenever he was invited ; with some other passages, which, I hope, you will put into some method, and correct the stile, and publish as speedy as you can.

Note, Mr. S——ge, besides the persecution about his fees, was turned out of the council for giving his vote in parliament in a case where his excellency's own friends were of the same opinion, till they were wheedled or threatened out of it by his excellency. The particulars before mentioned I have not yet received ; whenever they come, I shall publish them in a second part.

REMARKS ON Dr. SWIFT'S TRACTS relating to IRELAND.

Taken from Mr. DEANE SWIFT'S ESSAY.

These tracts may, for any thing I know to the contrary, be thought local and temporary; and perhaps for that reason may chance to be neglected by succeeding generations; which happens to be the fate of almost all other points of history, excepting those only which are stiffly supported by the clamour and virulence of contending parties, according to their several views and interests in the commonwealth. But as the writings of Dr. Swift, and particularly the Drapier's letters, are founded on the secure basis of the laws of his country, and supported throughout the whole with the warmest zeal for liberty, they will for ever command the veneration of those who are not unworthy to enjoy the blessings of our constitution. For although it be a truth scarce ever regarded, the subject matter which happens to give rise to any political treatise whatsoever is but of little consequence; that spirit which is conveyed in the writings of a patriot, who is equally faithful to his King and country, being that alone which improveth our faculties, and therefore hath a claim to all the deepest of our attention, let what age or nation soever boast of the honour of his genius. But if the inhabitants of these nations, and particularly the people of Ireland, will continue to be like the dead adder, which refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely; the time may come, when, for want of a patriot inspired like Dr. Swift to apprise them of their danger, they may be doomed to chains and slavery, by the contrivance of some wicked impostor that may lie in wait for their destruction. Consider, therefore, ye sons of Ireland, what hardships had like to have been inflicted upon your wise, your courageous patriot; consider what persecutions were set on foot against him by slaves and wretches, for no other crime but that of defending your liberties, or rather indeed for maintaining the very existence of your country, against one vile insignificant mechanic. Think not because that evil day is past, that in the womb of time there cannot be any further projects to undermine your liberties. Have ye not seen pretended patriots of late
years

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years which have prostituted their impious pens to serve the vilest purposes? But, thanks be to God! their writings have perished, and their names are universally pronounced with abhorrence, contempt, and execration. Read therefore, and imbibe the political principles of Dr. Swift; engrave them on the tablet of your hearts; teach them unto your children's children; and above all things, remember to fix an indelible mark of infamy upon those men, who by their words, their actions, and other wicked insinuating artifices, endeavour to sap the vitals of your liberty. For be assured, that in the day of trial they will approve themselves to their masters to be corrupted slaves and traitors to their country.

As to the piece entitled, *A short View of the State of Ireland, written in 1727*, [above, p. 113.] I cannot but declare myself heartily sorry, that I am forced to disagree with Lord Orrery with regard to his critic on it, [above, p. 123.] For surely among all the pleasures and delights which have any respect unto this habitable world, there can be none more generous, more intellectual, and more divine, than to rejoice in the prosperity of our country. But, alas! the miseries of Ireland being the effects of a thousand causes, are, I am afraid, incurable. At least all remedies but one (which is, abolishing the use of gold and silver out of the whole community; a scheme too philosophical, and perhaps too chimerical for so corrupted an age to reduce into practice) appear to be so exceedingly desperate, that I verily believe it would require a legislator equal to the conductor of the Israelites out of the land of Egypt, to make them a rich and flourishing people, notwithstanding the fertility of their soil, and the temperature of their climate.

I wonder, that any man could possibly reside, for the greater part of eighteen years, in Ireland, without remarking, to his infinite regret, that no people in the Christian world are so destitute of raiment, food, and all the conveniencies of life, as the inhabitants of that wretched kingdom, notwithstanding that by God and nature it is perhaps the most favoured country upon earth. *Optima natio, pessima gens*, was, I remember, Dr. Swift's periphrasis for Ireland, whenever his patriot indignation was raised against the absurdity of their conduct and politics.

In the *short view*, the Doctor enumerates fourteen causes of any country's flourishing and growing rich, and then examines

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what effects arise from these causes in Ireland. I am well convinced, that some few alterations have taken place since 1727. But whether, in fact, these alterations have at all contributed to the interest of the weal-public; or whether it appears they have had the least effect towards banishing complaint from our streets, is at present one of the points to be considered; and the other is, how far the remarks of Dr. Swift are equally true at this day as they were in 1727.

I cannot but insist upon it, that Ireland, with regard to twelve articles out of the fourteen, is just in the same condition, and labours under the same disadvantages, this present year 1754, as it did in the year 1727.

With respect to the seventh article [above, p. 114. 118.] which concerns the improvement of land, and the encouragement of agriculture, Ireland is by far in a worse situation at present than it was in 1727, notwithstanding many appearances to the contrary. For although it be certain, that great improvements, and particularly the finest roads perhaps in the world, have been made since that epoch, flocks and herds have been only thereby multiplied. And although it be asserted by Lord Orrery [above p. 123.] that agriculture is cultivated (i. e. that the culture of land is cultivated) in Ireland; the greater part of the husbandmen, the labourers and the poor, have, merely for the sake of those cursed cattle, which are the bane of Ireland, been driven out of their wretched habitations, and banished the country, helpless, naked, and forlorn; to rot, starve, and perish in desolate places, to the great diminution of the inhabitants.

And as to the fourteenth article [above p. 115. 119.] the people of Ireland, by their folly, their madness, their luxury, and disregard to all public interest, are, by many degrees, in a more wretched condition than they were in 1727; the most common necessaries, even their corn, their ale, and their potatoes, being, to the shame and confusion of their politics, imported from abroad, as well as their tea, their claret, and their spices.

As to the pamphlet entitled, *A modest proposal, &c.* [above, p. 335.] it is a humorous treatise, equally the product of despair and benevolence; and seemeth to have been written in the bitterness of the Dean's soul, and principally addressed to the consideration of those merciless tyrants which starve and oppress their fellow creatures, even to the shame and destruction of their country.

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country. His proposal is, to fatten up the children of beggars, cottagers and farmers, as they do lambs and pigs for the markets, and sell their carcases to the rich; a food which he declares to be *very proper for landlords*; who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to their children.

As to Dr. Swift's political tracts relating to Ireland, wherein the rights of the clergy and the cause of christianity are expressly and immediately concerned, I shall only observe in general, that Swift, being a thorough master of politics, and far beyond all the wisest of his contemporaries, deeply versed in the history of parties, could discover, at a surprising distance, the natural consequences of those efforts which had been frequently made during the time he flourished, to subvert our happy constitution both of church and state; inasmuch that he appears, from a great variety of his tracts, to have been one of the most sagacious watchmen that ever was known in the church of Christ.

END OF VOL. IV.



